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JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, AND CHARLES C. TORREY,

Professor in Yale University, New Haven.

Professor in Yale University, New Haven.

TWENTY-SECOND VOLUME,

SECOND HALF.

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JOURNAL

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AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

A Supplement to Brünnow's Classified List of Cuneiform Ideographs.—Compiled by MARY INDA HUSSEY, of Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penna.

IN the preface to the *Classified List of Cuneiform Ideographs*, Dr. Brünnow notes that he has not examined the unpublished syllabaries in the British Museum. The publication of these in October, 1900, has made it possible to supplement his work. In the following pages the new material thus placed within our reach has been selected and put in convenient form for reference.

The arrangement of the material is similar to that of Brünnow and needs no further explanation. The first three classes of the syllabary are indicated by Roman numerals, the column and number by Arabic numerals. Parts one and two of the second class are distinguished by the small numeral above the line.

Omissions occur only where the sign to be explained could not be identified owing to the serious break in the text. It seemed unnecessary to note certain slight variations such as the following: 1) variations in the final vowel of the Assyrian definition—e. g., *nakri* (II², 1, 18D) for *nakru* (B1144), or *šaṭâri* (II², 4, 8D) for *šaṭâru* (B4336); 2) variations in the Assyrian name: a) in the final vowel, as *gurri* (I, 4, 24WX) for *gurru* (B3358), *kamma* (I, 2, 15L) for *kammu* (B8334); b) in the orthographic repetition of a consonant, e. g., *gurušše* (I, 3, 43W) for *gurušu* (B6173), or *uttu* (I, 2, 60B) for *utu* (B7759); c) in the shortening of the Assyrian name, as *kib* (I, 4, 20E) for *kibbu* (B5216) or *gunû* (I, 2, 10) for *igi-gunû* (B7005); d) in the case of *geštanû* (I, 3,

52TUW) for *gettim* (B7960) in which the law of phonetic change has not been observed.

The reading *i-ban* (I, 6, 7) has not been noted as a new reading from the fact that Mr. Thompson in 41512 rev. reads *i-dim*. It is therefore inferred that in I, 6, 7 a wedge has been accidentally omitted. Brünnow, no. 8237, reads *šutabû* indicating that the final sign *u* was uncertain. Strassmaier (*Verzeichniss*, no. 8616) hesitates between the reading *ru* and *u*, while Pinches (IV R² 62, 73) reads *šu-ta-bu-ku*. Although Delitzsch, *A L.*³ S. l. 73, reads *šu-ta-bu-u* without any indication of uncertainty, I at first considered it more probable that *lu* was the real reading of S^{c}, and therefore did not insert *šutabulu* in its place as though it were new. Later reflection, however, made it clear that it should be included, and it was accordingly placed among the addenda. Brünnow's doubtful reading *kim* (9109) is rendered certain by this syllabary.

Acknowledgment is due Professor George A. Barton for valuable criticism and suggestion.

BABÛ : I 1. 50. |

ZUZU: I.1.44 F |

KÛSU: I.1.46 847 |

KUŠKURU-ŠUBKIKI: 82-8-16

ŠURUḪU : 82-8-16 obv. |

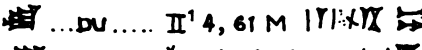
ŠURUBḪU (šuruḫu) : 82-8-16 obv.

DIR: I.2.19 M |

ILI : I 2,18 M |

INI : I, 2, 38 A |

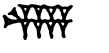
(IM)MIN : II² 3, 6, 1 |


...DU..... II' 4, 61 M
SUMMAŠ : (tu) : I, 3, 25

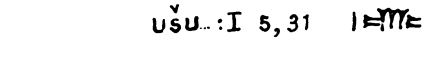
LÛ : I, 1, 41
RÂBA : (lú) : II² 4, 19

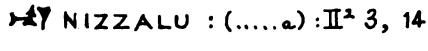
ZUB : II' 6, 39 M
ZU .....: (gub) : II' 6, 39 M

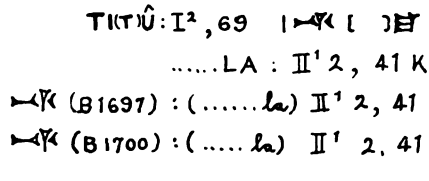
LÂ : II² 3, 15
ṢAḪIR : II² 3, 16

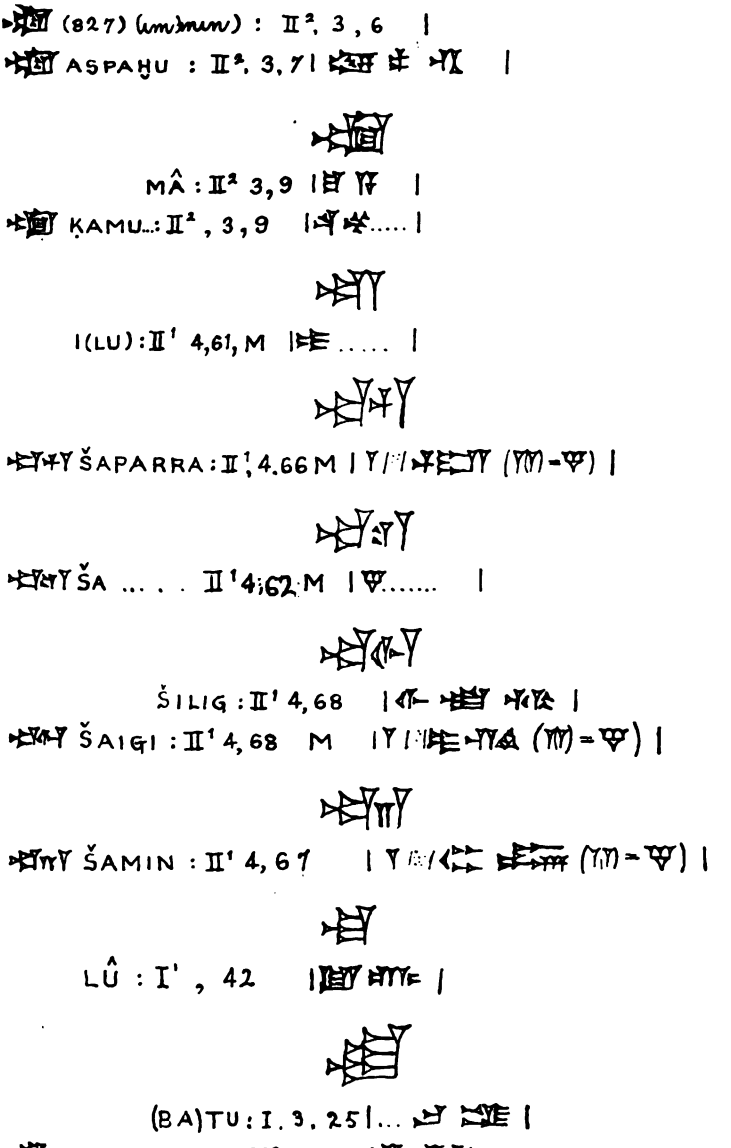


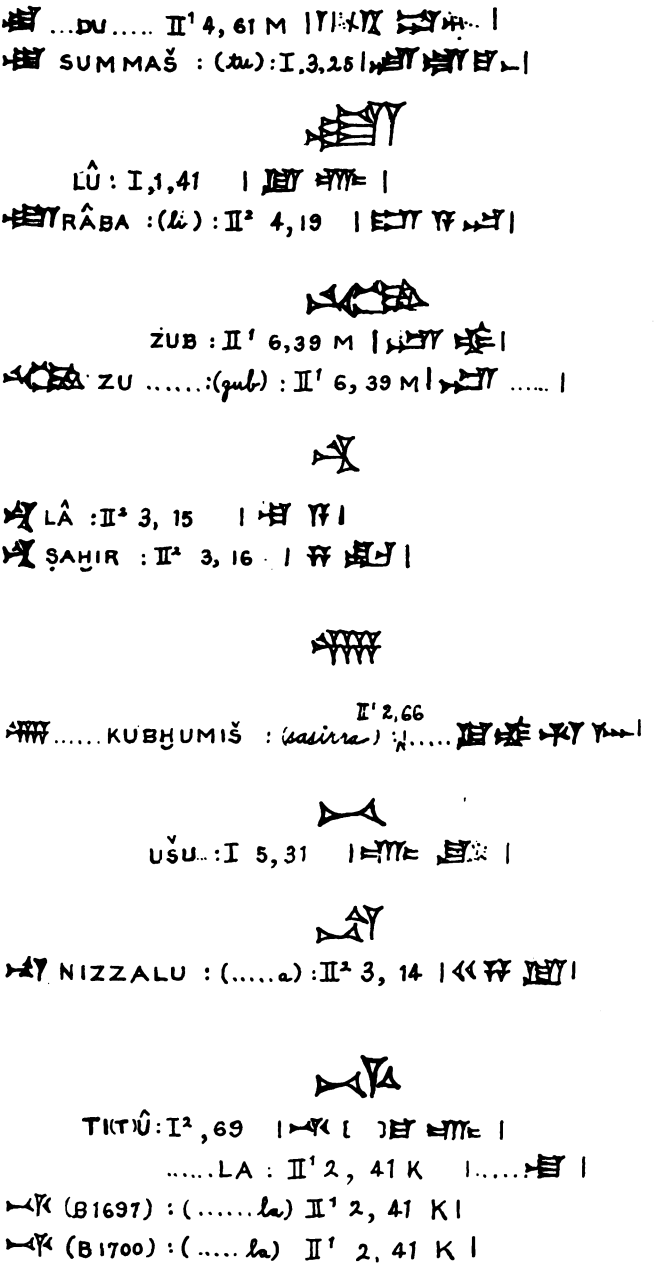
.....KUBḪUMIŠ : (sasirra) : II' 2, 66 .....


UŠU : I 5, 31


NIZZALU : (.....a) : II² 3, 14


TIKTÛ : I² 69
.....LA : II' 2, 41 K
(B 1697) : (.....la) II' 2, 41 K
(B 1700) : (.....la) II' 2, 41 K


(827) (um)mun : II², 3, 6 |
ASPAḪU : II², 3, 7 |
MÂ : II² 3, 9 |
ḲAMU... : II², 3, 9 |.....
I(LU) : II' 4,61, M |.....
ŠAPARRA : II' 4.66 M |
ŠA ..... II' 4,62 M |.....
ŠILIG : II' 4, 68 |
ŠAIGI : II' 4, 68 M |
ŠAMIN : II' 4, 67 |
LÛ : I' , 42 |
(BA)TU : I. 3. 25 |...
ERI ; (....u) : II², 4. 2


...DU..... II' 4, 61 M
SUMMAŠ : (tu) : I, 3, 25
LÛ : I, 1, 41
RÂBA : (li) : II² 4, 19
ZUB : II' 6, 39 M
ZU ..... : (gub) : II' 6, 39 M
LÂ : II² 3, 15
ṢAḪIR : II² 3, 16
..... KUBḪUMIŠ : (sasirra) : II' 2, 66 .....
UŠU... : I 5, 31
NIZZALU : (.....a) : II² 3, 14
TI(T)Û : I², 69
..... LA : II' 2, 41 K
(B 1697) : (..... la) II' 2, 41 K
(B 1700) : (..... la) II' 2, 41 K

NUNÛ : I, 1, 48 | |

NAṢARU : (*gal*) III, 1 | |

NAMBU : (*mud*) : III, 3 | |

ITTI : II² 3, 18 | |

GIḲÛ : I, 1, 52 | |

GISIK-MINNABI : K 4174 col. III rev.

MAŠTINÛ : K 4174 col III rev. | |

 : GUḪ .... : K 4174 col II rev. | |

GIŠÂ-GIGÛ : K 4174 col III rev. | |

ANṢALUB : K 4174 col III rev. | |

 (B 2516) : (*anṣalub*) : K 4174 col III rev. |

GIGÛ : K 4174 col III rev. | .... |

PUKLU : K 4174 col. III rev. | |

 PUK ..... : (*puklu*) : K 4174 col III rev. | |

GITIR-MINNABI : K 4174 col III rev. | |

 KURÛ .... : K 4174 col III rev. | |

GIŠALA-GABBAKU: K 4174 col III rev. | KUNINU-ŠA.... K 4174 col III rev. |

GIMAŠTIN-IŠŠIKU: K 4174 col III rev. |

GIGINI: K 4174 col III rev. |

GIDILU: (gigiru): K 4174 col III rev. |

GJÂKU: K 4174 col III rev. |

NUNKIKI: 82-8-16 1 obv. |

NUNTINKIKI: 82-8-16, 1 obv. |

NUNPÊ: 82-8-16, 1 obv. |

ŠU: (ešida): 82-8-16, 1 obv. |

ŠU: (nunpê): 82-8-16, 1 obv. |

NUNMIMÛ: 82-8-16, 1 obv. |

(B 2651): (abgal): 82-8-16, 1 obv. |

NUNMI-TAḲḲAKU: 82-8-16, 1 obv. |

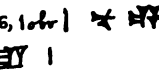
INḲU: (qašaru): 82-8-16, 1 obv. |

INTIRTI: (gušam): 82-8-16, 1 obv. |

NUNMÊ-RADUBÛ: 82-8-16, 1 obv. |

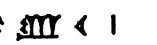
APRIḲ: 82-8-16, 1 obv. |

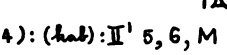
APRIḲḲU: (apriḳ): 82-8-16, 1 obv. |

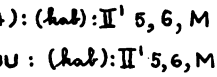
NUNTIN-KÛÂKU: 82-8-16, 1 *obv.* | 

AŠAGARA : 82-8-16, 1 *obv.* & II'2,

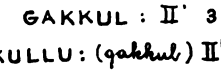
AŠAGARÛ: 82-8-16, 1 *obv.* |

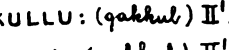
II'2, 65 | [

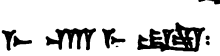
(B2684): (*kal*): II' 5, 6, M | 

KABBU : (*kal*): II' 5, 6, M | 

GAKKUL : II' 3, 33 |

KAKKULLU: (*gakkul*) II'. 3, 33 | 

 NÀMZITU : (*gakkul*) II' 3, 34 | 



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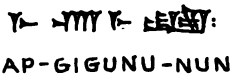
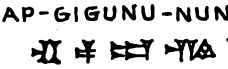
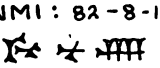
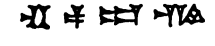
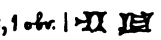


ŠA-IZI-NUKU-KALA-IDU: 82-8-16, 1 *obv.*



INKUM : 82-8-16, 1 *obv.* | 

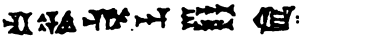
  ŠU: 82-8-16 1 *obv.* |

NIPRU: 82-8-16, 1 *obv.* | 

TUN : II' 5, 7 |

 ḪATÛ: (*tum*): II' 5, 7 |

KABBA KUTTA : (*tum*): II' 5, 7, M |



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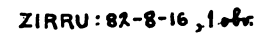
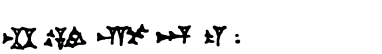
ZIRRU : 82-8-16 ,1 obv. 



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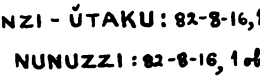
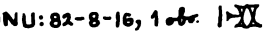
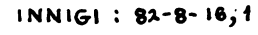
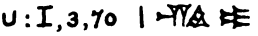
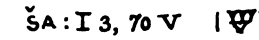
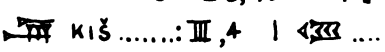
NUNUZZI : 82-8-16, 1 obv. 

INNUNU : 82-8-16, 1 obv. 

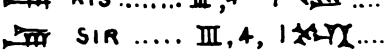
INNIGI : 82-8-16, 1 obv. 

GÎDU : I, 3, 70 

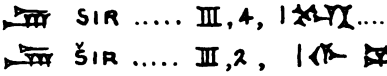
ŠA : I 3, 70 V 



KIŠ ..... : III, 4

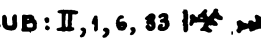


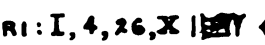
SIR ..... III, 4,

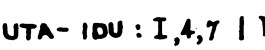


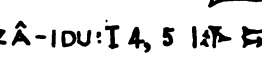
ŠIR ..... III, 2,

IḲLU : I, 1, 70

MUSUB : II, 1, 6, 33 

DARRI : I, 4, 26, X 

MINUTA-IDU : I, 4, 7 

PILZÂ-IDU : I 4, 5 

TATÛ: I 4,10 | | |

GIRÛ: I, 4, 10 | | |
GIR : I, 4, 15 | | |
GIRÛ: I, 4, 15 U | | |
ḪUŠ : I, 4, 11 | | |
LA..... : I, 4, 14 | | |
PIL : I, 4, 12 | | |

GINNA : II' 5,38 | | |
ŠIRRU : (ginna) II' 5, 38 | | |

ADU : I, 2, 66 | |

TANITTU : II' 1, 25 | | |
KAKASIGA : II' 1, 26 | | |

ŠÂ : I, 3, 66 V | |

EGIN : II² 1, 6 B | |
(B 4526) : (equ) II² 1, 6 B |
(B 4529) : (equ) II² 1, 6 B |

(G)UM : I, 2, 31, P | |

GÛ: I, 4, 31 W & X |

ŠA-ḲUMA-UM-IDU: I 4,33 |

ŠA-NINDAKU-IZI-IDU: I, 4,34 |

ŠAURA ... (=) II' 5,10M |

LASAMU: (.... =) II' 1,23 |

URUN: (=): II' 5, 8M |

.....KATU: I, 3, 31 |

GAGGU: I, 3, 57 U & W |

GIŠŠU: I 1, 64, H |

IZU: I, 1, 64, H |

GUDDU: I, 4, 2, |

(MA)MAR: I, 3, 33 B |[E] |

:

U..... GÛ : K 4174 *obv.* | ..... (.....) |

SULLIM : K 4174 *obv.* | |

: UBAKAṢTU : (*sullim*) K 4174 *obv.* |

:

UŠA-GIṢGALLA - KUGUGA : K 4174 *obv.* |

ŠAKIRA : K 4174 *obv.* | |

:

..... GIGGAKU : K 4174 *obv.* | |

DIMUŠ : K 4174 *obv.* | |

DIMMUŠATU : (*dimuš*) : K 4174 *obv.* |

KUBU ..... : (*dimuš*) K 4174 *obv.* | |

KAMAṢU : (*dimuš*) K 4174 *obv.* | |

KUŠARU : (*dimuš*) K 4174 *obv.* | |

ṢILLU : (*dimuš*) K 4174 *obv.* | |

ḪI..... (*dimuš*) K 4174 *obv.* | .... |

TAK..... (*dimuš*) K 4174 *obv.* | .... |

UNAGATINÛ : K 4174 *obv.* | |

TÊ : K 4174 *obv.* | |

: MANGU : (*te*) : K 4174 *obv.* | |

: ḲAḲULU : (*te*) : K 4174 *obv.* | |

: ŠAMEṬU : (*te*) : K 4174 *obv.* | |

UNA .....: K4174 obv. | |

(U)GA : K4174 obv | |

..... UŠ ..... : K4174 obv. | ..... |

UZI - MINNABILA - GABBAKU : K4174 obv. |
|

AŠKI : K4174 obv. | |

GIN : K4174 obv. | |

.... UB : K4174 obv. | ..... |

.... MUN : K4174 obv. | ..... |

: ILPITU : (... mun) K4174 obv. | |

: URBATU : (aški) K4174 obv. | |

: KUŠDU : (gun) K4174 obv. | |

: RUPADU : (.... obv.) K4174 obv. | |

:

UTIR - MINNABI : K4174 obv. | |

NINNI : K4174 obv. | |

: AŚLUM : (ninni) K4174 obv. | |

:

UKÎU : K 4174 obv. | |

ŠAKIRA : K4174 obv. | |

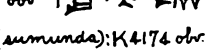
:

UKÎŠ - KUSALKU : K4174 obv. | |

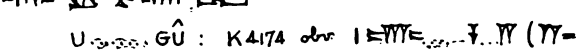
ḲUTRA : K4174 obv. | |

 : ḲUTRU : (kutra) : K4174 obv. | |

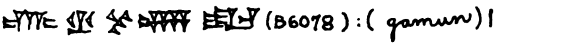
UDUNU - MINNABIŠI - AGU : K4174 obv. |

ŠUMUNDA : K4174 *obv* |  |

ŠUMUTTU:(*sumunda*):K4174 *obv*

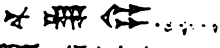


U...GÛ : K4174 *obv* ||

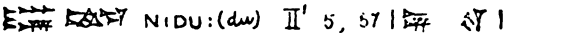
GAMUN : K4174 *obv* |  |

(B6078) : (*gamun*) |

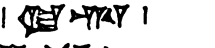
GAGÛ : I 3, 48 BTW | |

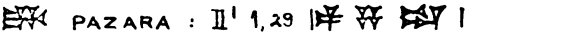
NUN-MINNABI: I, 6, 16 |  |

I, 6, 16 E

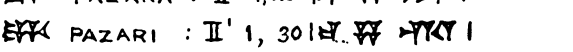


NIDU:(*du*) II' 5, 57 ||

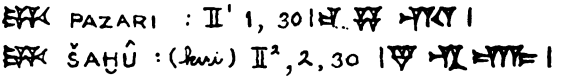
KIRI : II² 2, 30 |  |

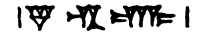


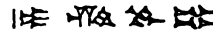
PAZARA : II' 1, 29 ||

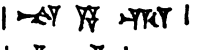


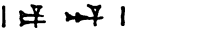
PAZARI : II' 1, 30 ||



ŠAḪÛ : (*hwi*) II², 2, 30 |  |

IGI-PURGU : I, 2, 53 |  |

NÂRI : I, 4, 20 |  |

PAN : I, 4, 21 V |  |

ALAM : II' 6, 43

MÂK : ((kuṣ) : II' V, 34 I

MÛ : (šê) II², 2, 38

ŠUBABU : II' 5, 47

ZAG : I, 2, 65

TIL : I, 3, 55 U

KÎNU : II' 61 A

KINNATU : (gudu) : II' 1, 57

ARÛ : (pêr) II' 1, 58 K

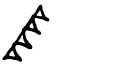
(B 8179) : (nunuz) II' 5, 30

LUḪTAN : II', 5, 32

(B 8186) : (*luḫtan*) : II' 5, 32 |

USAN : II' 5, 30 |

(B 8190) : (*usan*) : II', 5, 30 |


ŠIMTU : (*qiš*) : II² 2, 37 |

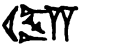
(B 8841) : (*uqu*) : II² 3, 12 |

GIKKI : I, 3, 18 |

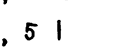
.....IL : I, 3, 14 |

PA..... : (*šagan*) : II' 6, 31 M |

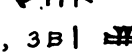
ELAM : I, 6, 13, E |


(B 9112) : (*kum*) : III, 5 |

(B 9116) : (*kum*) : III, 5 |


(B 9118) : (*kim*) : III, 5 |

(B 9123) : (*kim*) : III, 5 |


(B 9124) : (*kum*) : III, 5 |

ÛM : II² 1, 3B |

| NÊŠU : (*gurush*) : II² 4,11 | |

KUŠ : II² 4, 16 DC | |

BADI : I, 2-8 | |

ALGUṬṬU : I, 3, 63 U |

SAL : I, 3, 64 U |

ŠIM : I, 3, 65 |

 ..... GIRTU ? : III, 5 |

....

ŠAGARADUBÛ : K 4174 *rev.* |

..... LUMMAR : K 4174 *rev.* |

 : TUBULLÛ : (*lummar*) : K 4174 *rev.* |

.....

.... MUZMU ? : K 4174 *rev.* |

.....GIRU ? K 4174 *rev.* |

 ....GIRU : (.....*guru*) : K 4174 *rev.*

:

DIG .... IR : K 4174 *rev.* |

BAT : K4174 rev.

.....TIN : I, 3, 21

KASPU : I, 5, 34

KÛGU : I, 5, 33

(9992) : (*êš*) : II² 2, 33

NIN : II² 2, 34

(B 10022) : (*nin*) : II² 2, 34

ŠÛŠA : (*êš*) : II² 2, 36

GUKKALLU : (*gukkal*) II² 2, 12A

ḲINNÛ : (*kun*) : II 5 5M

GÛ : I, 4, 28 X rev.

ḪAŠ : I, 4, 27 WX

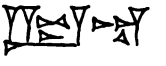
GUGÛ : I, 3, 47 B TW

NANGARI : I, 4, 23 |

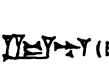
NAŠA : I, 4, 23WX |

LUMMU : I : 1, 43 |

ḪAMAŠU : (*ḫumu*) : II² 4, 19 |



GIGIM : I' 1, 52 |


(B 11307) : (*gigunu*) II, 1, 52 |

UGA : II' 1, 54 K |

NÂḲU : I, 6, 26 |

:

IDIGIN : II' 6, 37M |

IDIGNA II' 6, 37 |

ZAZÛ : I, 1, 45 F |

RA ..... : II², 2, 28 |

(UR)RI : (*uru*) II' 5, 3 M |

....GA : II² 1, 13 | .... |

.... IR : II² , 1, 15 | .... |

AGÛ : (....ga) II² 1, 13 |

UZZU : (.....u) II² 1, 14 |

ŠIBBU : (.....u) II² 1, 15 |

.....IRNI : I , 4, 49 | .... |

..... MÛ ? : I, 4, 48 | .... |

ADDENDA

MUT : II, 5, 33 | |

(88 | 92) : (mut) : II, 5, 33 |

ŠUTABULU : (šar) : III, 3 |

Some Oriental Analogues to the Ballad of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury—A contribution to comparative folklore.—By GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT.

PROFESSOR Charles C. Torrey has pointed out in two recent articles[1] a curious version of the well-known Old English tale of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury, variations of which are to be met with in unexpected quarters. There are numerous parallels to the story in European folklore, many of which are collected in Child's *English and Scottish Ballads*. The legend of King Baulah (بولة), the Egyptian prototype of King John, is told by an early Arab historian Ibn 'Abd el-Ḥakem, in his فتوح مصر, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, or *Conquest of Egypt*, written in the middle of the ninth century (the author died 871 C.E.). The Arabic text of the story is given by Torrey in the *JAOS.*, xx. 211–2. He says that it may be traced back to the Copts of the seventh century C.E., though in all probability it was current in the land much earlier. Through the medium of the فتوح مصر the story of the King and the Potter was circulated in Spain, and thence soon spread itself over Europe.

There are similar anecdotes in the Talmud. In a curious dialogue between R. Joshua ben Ḥanania and "the elders of Athens" (סבי דבי אתונא)[2], preserved in *Bekhoroth* fol. 8ᵇ–9ᵃ, which is intended to show the superiority of Hebrew wisdom in strong contrast to pagan learning, and, according to Güdemann,

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[1] 1. "King Baulah. The Egyptian Version of the Story of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury," in the *Open Court*, Chicago, Sept., 1899, vol. xiii. No. 9, pp. 559–62;—2. "The Egyptian prototype of 'King John and the Abbot,'" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xx, second half, 1899, pp. 209–16.

[2] Athens is otherwise written אתינם. According to Dubs in Schorr's *he-Ḥaluts*, ii. p. 160–1, the Roman Athenæum is here referred to and *not* the wise men of Athens. Cf. Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, i. 172–4; Grätz, *Die jüdischen Proselyten im Römerreiche*, etc. (Breslau, 1884), p. 28; Kohut, *'Arûkh Completum s. v.* אתונא; Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterb.*, iii. p. 246. A. Wuensche translates: "The old scholars of the Roman Athenæum," in his *Babylonische Talmud* ii. (Leipzig, 1889), pp. vii, 62.

Religionsgeschichtliche Studien, Leipzig, 1876, pp. 136–8, is to be taken in the light of a polemic against Christianity, we have something resembling our story. (Cf. also Steinschneider's references in *Hebr. Bibl.*, xvi. 124.) "Build us a house in the air!" demanded the pagan sages of this Rabbi. He accordingly pronounced the ineffable Name (*tetragrammaton*), ascended, and hovering between heaven and earth, cried: "Hand me some brick and clay from below!" "Who can reach you these things?" was the reply. "Well, then, who can build a house midway between heaven and earth?" answered the Rabbi. Again they asked: "Where is the center of the world?" He thereupon lifted up his finger and said: "Here it is." "How can you prove it?" demanded the sages. "Bring a cord and measure it!" was the rejoinder. Then follow a number of similar ingenious witticisms, many examples of which are given in *Midrash Ekha Rabbathi*, to ch. I. (A few English illustrations from this source may be found in Hyman Hurwitz's *Hebrew Tales*, Am. ed., New York, 1847, pp. 152–60, 164; W. A. Clouston, *Flowers from a Persian Garden*, London, 1890, pp. 117–9; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. I, p. 289[a] (New York, 1901).) The Rabbinic parallel to the third question in the Egyptian story, as to God's occupation, quoted by Professor Torrey (*JAOS.*, xx. p. 216), is one of many of a like nature. See the sources and parallels mentioned in I. Abrahams' article, "Marriages are made in Heaven," in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, ii. (1890), pp. 172–77. Æsop, in answer to the query put to him by Chilo, "What was God doing?" is said to have answered, that "he was abasing the proud and exalting the humble,"—a reply which called forth the admiration of Bayle, in his *Dictionary*, unaware that the very same idea is expressed by the Rabbis. (Cf. Hurwitz, *Hebrew Tales*, p. 42; Clouston, *Flowers from a Persian Garden*, p. 264; see also Steinschneider, in *Hebräische Bibliographie*, xxi. 54.) In a collection of miscellaneous documents, described by N. Brüll (*Jahrbücher für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, ix. pp. 1–71), dating for the most part from the first half of the XVIth century, and containing folksongs, legends, proverbs, puzzles and ethical maxims, there is a curious dialogue recorded between Ben Sira and Nebuchadnezzar, which bears a striking resemblance to the discussion between the Athenian sages and the Rabbi, referred to above. One of the questions is identical with the Talmudic parallel already mentioned and runs as follows: *Qu.* "Where is the

centre of heaven?" *A.* "In the heavenly house of God whose position corresponds to the one on earth." *Qu.* "Who knows if it is to be found in the middle of the sky?" *A.* "Let your servant measure it, if it be so or not." *Qu.* "Who can ascend into heaven?" *Ben Sira:* "Believe me!" Nebuchadnezzar believed it. (Brüll's *Jahrbücher*, ix. p. 15.) The entire story of King John and the Abbot is preserved in a collection of Judaeo-German tales, written early in the XVIIth century, and printed at various times,[1] called *Ma'asebuch.* Three questions are put by the king to his counsellor (יוֹעֵץ), who, unable to answer him, is relieved by a shepherd. The latter solves the three riddles successfully, and is installed in the place of the counsellor, whose name was Kunz and whose discomfiture became a popular proverb. The three questions are: 1. "Where does the sun rise?" 2. "How far is the heaven from the earth?" 3. "Tell me, what is in my mind?" These are the answers: 1. "The sun rises in the east and sets in the west." 2. "As far as the earth is from heaven." 3. "You are thinking just now that I am Counsellor Kunz, but in truth I am a shepherd and have care of his sheep." (Cf. Grünbaum, *op. cit.*, pp. 440–4.)

A somewhat different but equally striking parallel to the foregoing fables is to be found among the anecdotes of Naṣr ed-dîn—a half-mythical personage, upon whom a number of droll and silly witticisms are fathered. (See some illustrations in English in S. S. Cox's *Diversions of a Diplomat in Turkey*, New York, 1887, pp. 334–42; Mark Twain's *Library of Humour*, New York, 1888, pp. 193–6, 288, 484; W. A. Clouston, *Flowers from a Persian Garden*, pp. 65–70; his *Book of Noodles*, 1888; see also my article "A Turkish Tale in the Midrash," in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, January, 1898, vol. xv. pp. 108–9.) I subjoin herewith the translation, from W. B. Baker's edition, published in his *Reading Book of the Turkish Language*, London, 1854, pp. ٩٩–٧٧:

"Three hermits, well trained in science, while making a journey around the world, arrived in Sultan 'Alâ ed-dîn's country. The

[1] See Steinschneider's articles in *Serapeum;* M. Grünbaum, *Jüdisch-deutsche Chrestomathie*, Leipzig, 1882, pp. 385–458; Leo Wiener, *History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century*, New York, 1899, pp. 2, 4, 42–3. Helwig's version was known to Grünbaum (cf. *ibid.*, p. 443), and is not a discovery of Wiener's, who does not seem to appreciate the former's scholarly pioneer researches.

King enjoined upon them to embrace the faith of Islâm. 'We have a question to ask,' they replied; 'if you can answer us properly, we are ready to accept your religion.' The Sultan, having agreed to this proposition, assembled his wise men to solve the questions submitted. None of them being able to give satisfaction, Sultan 'Alâ ed-dîn waxed wroth, and exclaimed: 'Is there no one to be found among the wise men of my country, who will answer these queries?' Some one declared that none save Hodja Naṣr ed-dîn could do the subject justice. Thereupon the King dispatches a Tartar to the Hodja, and summons him to appear before him. Having first informed himself of the Pâdishâh's wishes, he at once saddles his donkey, takes a stick along, mounts, and sending the Tartar ahead of him, repairs to the Sultan's seraglio. Entering the Pâdishâh's presence he gives the *salaam* and receives it in return. He sits down, and after offering up a prayer for the Pâdishâh, says: 'You have called me hither; what may be your desire?' The Sultan relates the circumstances, and the Hodja says: 'What are your questions?' Thereupon, one of the hermits steps forward and says: 'Most worshipful Effendi, I want to know *where is the centre of the world?*' The Hodja points with his stick to the fore hoof of his donkey, and says: '*There, at the foot of my donkey, is the centre of the world.*' 'Whence is it known?' asks the hermit. '*If thou believest it not, then measure it;* should it not turn out exactly as I have said, say so!' The second hermit then stepped forward, and asked: '*How many stars are there in heaven?*' '*As many stars,*' replied the Hodja, '*as the number of hairs on my donkey.*' 'Whence is it evident?' queried the hermit. '*If thou believest it not,*' was the rejoinder, '*come, count them;* if there be more or less, let me know!' 'Can the hairs of thy donkey be counted?' asked the hermit. 'As easily as the numberless stars of heaven,' was the Hodja's retort. The third hermit then came to the front, and said that he and his colleagues would become converts to Mohammed, if Naṣr ed-dîn would answer him satisfactorily. 'Proceed,' quoth the Hodja. '*How many hairs, O Effendi, are there in my beard?*' '*As many as my donkey has in his tail,*' answered the Hodja. 'How can it be proven?' 'O, friend of my soul,' replied the Hodja, '*if thou believest it not, come and count them!*' The hermit not seeming willing to agree to this, the Hodja said: 'If thou art not satisfied, come, let us pluck out one hair from thy beard and another from the donkey's

tail!' Realizing that it would be futile to attempt to outwit the Hodja, the hermit recited the *Tauḥîd* (توحيد),[1] and approaching his companions said: 'Lo! I accept the faith.' The other two followed his example, and offered to become servants of Hodja Naṣr ed-dîn Effendi."

There is to be mentioned another curious parallel in a book written by the Jewish historian R. Solomon ibn Verga (end of the XVth century), on the Persecutions of the Jews, entitled: שבט יהודה (*Shebet Yehudah*), or "Judah's Rod of Correction" (Cf. M. Wiener's German translation, Hannover, 1856, pp. v.-xxvii., for bibliographic data; Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. viii. 3d ed., pp. 404 sq.; American edition, vol. iv. pp. 556–7; see especially Isidor Loeb, "Joseph Haccohen et les chroniqueurs Juifs," in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. xvii. pp. 87–93). Three Jews are engaged in conversation with the Castilian King, whose trusted counsellor was the philosopher Thomas (Aquinas? *vide* Graetz, vol. viii., 407), a friend of the Jews, but an opponent of Judaism. The dialogues in which he figures are highly interesting. One of the questions (the *second*) submitted by the King is the following: אמרו חכמיכם שמן הארץ ועד לרקיע מהלך חמש מאות שנה מנין להם: תשובת היהודי לחכם טומאש שאמר שיש בי"ב מזלות מזל שגופו גדול מגוף הארץ מאה ושבעים פעם ומי שמדד בשעלו הגוף ההוא מדד ברגליו מהלך מן הארץ עד לרקיע—"Your sages assume," said the monarch, "that the distance from the earth to the firmament is one of 500 years' journey. How do they know that?" "I have heard the wise Thomas say," replied the Jew [who, in common with a goodly number of his co-religionists of the middle ages, understood natural history and the sciences, and who, in fact, is spoken of in the course of this dialogue, by the King's minister, as one of the pupils of Galen: ענה המשנה שמעתי כי הוא מתלמידי גאלינוס], "that there is one star among the twelve signs of the zodiac, whose dimensions are 170 times larger than those of the earth. He, therefore, who is enabled to measure that planet with the hand, can also measure the distance between heaven and earth." (*Vide* M. Wiener's Hebrew edition of שבט יהודה, Hannover, 1855, p. 121; German transl., p. 249.)

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[1] The declaration of faith in the unity of God: Qur'ân, Sûra 112.

Max Grünbaum refers, for further parallels and analogies to "the three questions," to an article by R. Köhler, in *Orient und Occident*, ed. by Th. Benfey, vol. i. p. 439, and to the "Fairy Tales" of Grimm (3d Germ. ed., iii. 237, to No. 152). See his *Jüdischdeutsche Chrestomathie*, p. 443–44. There are numerous variations of these same legends in mediaeval and modern European folklore. We call attention to three interesting versions of *King John and the Abbot* in the 4th *novella* of Franco Sacchetti (1335–1400?)—cf. Th. Roscoe's *Italian Novelists*, N. Y., 1888, pp. 85–88—; in the 27th tale of the German rogue *Eulenspiegel* (XVIth century)—ed. Reclam (Leipzig, 1882) pp. 56–58—; and in Johannes Pauli's (1522) *Schimpf und Ernst.*[1]

[1] Modernized in Carla Wenckebach's *Ausgewählte Meisterwerke des Mittelalters*, Boston, 1896, pp. 218–19.

A Death Ceremonial of the "Kapola Bania" Caste.—By Professor GEORGE TRUMBULL LADD, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

ON the seventh of December, 1899, I had the exceedingly rare, if not unique, privilege of witnessing one of the most elaborate and important of the Hindu ceremonials for the dead. The privilege came through the courtesy of Mr. Tribhowandas Manguldas Nathubai of Bombay, in memory of whose deceased wife this was the eleventh of the appointed monthly ceremonials. Before I speak as an eye-witness, however, it will be helpful to the description to refer to the few things which I was able to learn in general about the death ceremonials of the caste to which my host belongs, and of which he is, perhaps, the most important lay member in Bombay.

As to the Kapola (Kapila or Kapāla?) Bania caste I have little information to give; although what I had seen of its temples, worship, and burning ghât the day before, as well as what I saw and heard at this ceremonial, all went to confirm the statement of Mr. Tribhowandas, that it is a "very orthodox caste." My informant added: "I am myself in my actions very liberal,"—a declaration confirmed by the fact that he is a prominent member of the Cosmopolitan Club of Bombay, that he has shown his independence by keeping his very pretty daughter unmarried until sixteen years of age, and that the ladies of his household are the only Hindu women of high caste whom I met in India that greeted me as a foreign gentleman in much the same manner as did the more cultivated Parsi ladies.

About this entire class of religious ceremonies as celebrated at present among this caste I quote from a pamphlet given me by Mr. Tribhowandas, and bearing his name as author, with the title "On the Death Ceremonies among the Kapola Bania and Others." This pamphlet opens with the following general statement: "It is one of the chief characteristics of Hinduism that every religious rite it teaches to be performed ceremoniously for the welfare of the soul; and so rigid is the adherence to the performance of the same that the observance thereof proves a super-

lative method of instructing how the belief in life after death is material and all-important among the Hindus. Their reasoning on this subject, when analysed, will be found very clear and explicit. Life and death, they argue, are the work of nature or its agent, the God Himself, but an observance of the rites enjoined, which secures them better lives, lies in the power of man. Man, consequently, should not be found wanting to perform the prescribed ceremonies, inasmuch as it assures a better birth after death."

The ceremonial which I witnessed is designated a Çrāddha (locally spelled Shradha); of which, besides those belonging to the days immediately after the decease, there are sixteen performed during the year. To quote again from the pamphlet: "Of all the ceremonies connected with the Hindu religion, the Çrāddha is the most important and the most expensive. . . . . Its main features are the feeding of a large number of the Brahmans and his castemen, and in the presentation of offerings to the spirit of the person recently deceased and his ancestors. . . . . This Çrāddha ceremony consists of the following features:

(1) Sacrifice.
(2) Offerings of rice balls.
(3) Feeding of relatives and Brahmans.
(4) Giving presents to Brahmans."

Of the four forms of the Çrāddha the one which I witnessed was called a "Parvan"—the name given to those ceremonies that are performed on certain moondays of every month.

Of all the "Parvan Çrāddhas" that of the eleventh month seems to be the most important, especially in the case of a widower; because only after this is he allowed to marry again. But as I understood this particular case, since the next wife would be the third, the marriage would be celebrated of the man with a sacred tree; for the third wife is particularly unlucky and destined to an early death.

The eleventh monthly ceremonial for the dead is, then, the most elaborate and imposing of all the Çrāddhas. The pamphlet to which reference has already been made describes it as follows: "In the eleventh month the ceremony performed (the Varsh ceremony) is named the Nīlohaha (marriage of Nīla). Nīla means a cow [?] and a bull. The reason of this observance is that the milk, curdled milk, etc., all the products of the cow, are held as propitiating god, and hence this ceremony is observed."

"In the commencement of the observance of this rite, the divine goddesses or Matrukas are installed, and the ceremony of Grih Shunti is performed [*mātṛkās* and *gṛhaçānti*]. Then five jugs of water are installed. Then the Brahmans are worshipped; after that certain gods, Indra and other Rudras, are invoked. Then a cow and a bull are decked in ornaments, and prayers are offered to them for securing the deceased ancestors from hell. Then water-sprinkling ceremony on the tail of the calf follows. Sprinkling this water in honor of the deceased, etc., the balls are offered." [These are the balls of rice, the offering of which is supposed to avail the deceased for the restoration of the different parts of the body. "The first is for the head. The second is for the restoration of the ears. The third is for the restoration of eyes, nose, arms, breast, etc."] "Twenty-seven balls of rice are placed at the hoofs of the bull."

"It is said that the offerings of rice-balls at the hoofs of the cow and bull secure a happy state in the next world for those on whose behalf such balls are offered."

"In this ceremony twenty-seven balls are offered for those who have died lately on the paternal as well as on the maternal side, for those who have committed suicide, for those that have died by unnatural death, and so on."

"Placing these offerings on blades of *kuça* grass and sprinkling water, *tila* [sesame] seeds and flowers and throwing a silken *digogee* over the balls, the ceremony is brought to a close."

Thus far the information derived from the printed description of the death ceremonial of the eleventh month, as prescribed for the faithful of the Kapola Bania caste. It will appear from the following narrative that I saw only a part of the whole ceremonial—namely, the feeding of the Brahmans, the worship of the Çankarāācārya or spiritual leader and head of the caste, the propitiatory offerings and symbolic sacrifices, and the "improvement" of the occasion for instructing the faithful in the way of salvation. Whether the performance with the cow and the bull was strictly carried out, I am unable to say; although I had seen an impromptu attempt to worship the sacred cows the day before, at temples of the caste. The invitation as originally given included only the feeding of the Brahmans; how it came about that this invitation was so greatly extended, the narrative itself will disclose. This narrative I copy from my diary as it was made out on the forenoon following the ceremonial, with great care to be

accurate, and with the assistance of Dr. Robert Hume of Ahmednagar, who was present and is eminently competent to correct any mistakes of observation or interpretation which I might otherwise have made.

On arriving at the house of Mr. Tribhowandas we were met at the front door by the servant and immediately conducted to the drawing-room floor above, where our host welcomed us. He himself then escorted us into the garden, where we saw the Brahmans, who had already gathered to the number of more than a hundred and were seated in a double row upon the ground. Before each was placed a round platter made of banyan leaves pieced together by small wooden pegs; and on each platter were two or three cups and dishes, made by joining together two leaves of the same tree. In a place apart squatted a considerable number of the wives and children of the Brahmans. Most of the men had a silk cloth around the loins, such as Brahmans wear when "purified" and ready for such a feast. But in some cases quite ordinary and not very clean cotton cloth was made to serve for the raiment.

On our way to a convenient row of windows in the upper part of the house, from which to view "the feeding," we were shown into the large drawing-room which had been prepared for the approaching ceremonies. This room was in size, I should think, not less than 80 ft. by 40 ft.; and around the two sides and one end was arranged a single row of sofas and chairs upon the bare floor, the large carpet in the center having been folded under so as to give space for passing to, and in front of, the seats without stepping upon it. This, it was explained, was done because the woolen of the carpet would gather and transmit defilement to the "religious men" who might come in contact with it. As subsequent performances seemed to show, this precaution was formal and ceremonial merely, for we, although unpurified and not Brahmans, afterward were led across the same carpet; and upon it, after it had been defiled by us, the holy men of the caste sat down to witness the ceremony.

This experience was only one of many in India which show a gradual relaxation of the rigor of ceremonial details. I may remark in this connection that I was subsequently in Calcutta allowed to take in my hands a very ancient Tamil palm-leaf Vedic manuscript—a species of pollution which, it was said, no volume of the sort in the library had ever endured before.

Across one end of the room a dais of about five inches in height had been raised, and on it were placed two chairs and the most elegantly carved of the sofas. In front of the dais stood a table spread with paraphernalia to be used in the Çrāddha or death ceremonial. After being several times warned that, of course, we must not touch anything, we were invited to approach the table and see the arrangements. On it was a round silver salver; and on this were small silver bowls containing milk, curds, rice, honey, sugar, saffron, shredded saffron, and *kunku*,—a carmine-colored pigment made by mixing turmeric, lemon juice, alum, and oil. There was also a silver holder for incense sticks, a small silver censer, a vase or font with a silver ladle, and a supply of flowers.

Passing now to our place of observation in a distant part of the house, we soon saw the servants of our host begin to distribute the food, which consisted of fried flour-cakes, pulse soup, rice with several vegetable curries, and sweet-meats. Before the feasting began, a son in the family poured water on the ground from his hands: when a short Mantra (called Sankalpa) or auspicious verse was pronounced by a Brahman. Then the entire company chanted aloud. Each Brahman, before he began to eat, poured a little water upon the ground as an offering to the earth; after which all "fell to" in a manner to prove that they are no mean trencher-men. Great pains were taken that, in drinking, the water should be poured down the throat without being contaminated by the lips, or teeth, or mouth. They all, of course, fed themselves with their fingers. One elderly Brahman was observed to be eating with his left hand only—either because his other hand was withered or out of respect to a vow. To carry the hand to the mouth under the leg seemed especially meritorious; and this feat, on account of his lean thigh, long arm and hand, and superior deftness in the use of his fingers, is much easier for the Hindu to accomplish than it would be for the average Englishman.

Our host had excused himself and left us in charge of two attendants. Presently we were told that the Çankara-ācārya was approaching and that we must return to the drawing-room, if we wished to see him. On reaching the place I inquired, in the spirit of experiment but with an appearance of naïveté, whether we (not being members of the caste) would be permitted to remain to witness the ceremonial. Mr. Tribhowandas was

undoubtedly considerably embarrassed by the question ; but he politely concealed his embarrassment and, saying that he would go and inquire, left the room. I suppose, of course, that he went to see what arrangements could be made with the Çankara-ācārya ; and what these arrangements were will never be known to any of us. At any rate, on his return, to my great surprise we were invited to the seats of honor on the right hand of the dais.

The room now began rapidly to be filled. The prominent members of the caste, as they entered the room, were greeted and shown to seats on the sofas and chairs. The women and children of the family sat on the floor opposite to where we were seated. The Brahmans, having finished their feasting, came into the room in small groups and seated themselves upon the carpet at the lower end and farthest from the dais.

Soon a commotion arose at the principal door of the drawing-room ; a heralding voice was heard ; and the Çankara-ācārya appeared with his attendants, one of whom bore a long silver mace and another a fly-flap of white horse-hair with an embossed silver handle.

The entire company rose to its feet as the religious leader appeared at the door and remained standing until he had taken his seat. He strode rapidly forward—crossing the carpet instead of avoiding it (his feet, however, were kept from pollution by his wooden *getas*)—and seated himself in Turkish fashion upon the sofa on the dais. He was a strikingly handsome man of apparently thirty-five years of age, shapely in limb and with a strong and manly countenance. His cloth was a silk of light salmon color ; and his turban was of the same color trimmed with gold. The attendant with the fly-flap stationed himself behind the Çankara-ācārya,—the appropriate position for his useful function. On his left hand stationed themselves the attendant with the silver mace, the Brahman of the Bombay community who was to recite the ritual, and several other attendants. The space in front of us was courteously kept open, in order that we might the better observe the ceremony.

The ceremonial began with the bringing in of a large silver salver, which was set in front of and below the Çankara-ācārya and on it his sandals were placed. He then rested his right leg upon its sandal, keeping his left leg still under him. Mr. Tribhowandas squatted on the dais on the right, and the assistant Brah-

man sat on the opposite side of the silver salver. The ceremony began with the chanting of certain Mantras in Sanskrit by this Brahman. The Çankara-ācārya himself, throughout, took no part in the ceremonial. He was always worshipped, never worshipper. Or more precisely, his right toe was made the object of worship, with substantially the same formulas as those with which I had seen the idols and the sacred cows worshipped the day before. Upon this humble member of his exalted person were placed the blossoms of flowers, and over it were poured milk, curds, honey, and water. It was anointed with *kunku*, and from time to time wiped with a soft towel.

Three impressions were made upon me by this part of the ceremonial: (1) that the precise order and significance of the things done were not at all clear in the mind of the person chiefly concerned, or even in the mind of the Brahman who was guiding the ritual. There was no little indecision and hesitation at various points; and sometimes almost a complete stand-still for a time. (2) The worshippers appeared to be considering the effect upon the foreign guests present rather than upon the body of the Brahmans present. And (3) everything was purely formal and ceremonial—a going-through with a certain routine under instructions that were followed without any particular regard to their significance, and with no show of the feelings that might naturally be associated with a death ceremonial.

After the ceremony of worshipping the foot of the Çankara-ācārya had been finished, Mr. Tribhowandas had his forehead marked with three horizontal stripes of *kunku*, as became a devotee of Çiva, the god chiefly worshipped by the Kapola Bania caste; and a similar "sealing" of the forehead was offered to such of the faithful as wished to receive it. One or more sofas-full of the laymen of the caste, I noticed, declined the offer.

Next followed the bestowal of gifts upon the Çankara-ācārya and upon the other chief personages who had taken part in the preceding ceremony. About the ācārya's shoulders was thrown a beautiful camel's hair shawl of soft yellowish color, with dark-reddish embroidery; and a shawl of carmine color, little less beautiful, was laid upon the shoulder of the principal attendant Brahman. Upon a silver plate Mr. Tribhowandas poured out a store of rupees, and was followed in this by his daughter and sons until about one hundred and fifty coins were piled upon the plate. Meanwhile a gift of ten and a quarter annas (about twenty cents)

was distributed by one of the sons to each of the assembled Brahmans. The gift must properly be some multiple of five ; and the additional one-quarter anna meant that it was "good measure, pressed down and (slightly) running over."

After receiving these gifts the Çankara-ăcārya had garlands thrown over his head and a huge bouquet was handed to him. The bouquet he at once laid on the sofa beside him ; and soon, the garlands seeming to become irksome (as I know from repeated experiences they do), he signified to an attendant his wish to have these floral decorations removed.

Soon the man with the silver mace gave a shout: "Salutation to the Maharaja ; do him reverence," and all the people saluted with a shout in response. This title of "Great King" is commonly bestowed upon the pontiff of the sect.

The death ceremonial being thus brought to a close, an address from the Çankara-ăcārya proved to be next in order. He graciously sent word to me, asking on what particular topic I might wish to hear him speak ; and I—not to be outdone in graciousness—replied that I should wish to hear him upon any topic on which he was pleased to speak. Through this interchange of courtesies there was secured for the foreign guests an authoritative statement of the present-day position as to the "way of salvation" held by "one of the most orthodox of the Hindu sects." The speaker was very fluent and pleasing in manner. Each paragraph was first given in Sanskrit, and then repeated, in paraphrase, in Hindustani. For "substance of doctrine" it was as follows—in all its essential points the same as all the more intelligent claims to infallible authority set up by the other "world-religions."

The discourse began with unbounded praise of the sacred scriptures of the Hindu religion, the Vedas. They are the original, only and infallible source of all true religion ; they point out the way of salvation, and there is no other way than that which they point out. Whoever walks in this way, and does as the Vedas instruct him, he has the true religion, he is safe. But whoever departs from this way, his religion is false, and he will not attain salvation, but will be punished in this life and in the life to come. But whereas most men are ignorant, and do not understand the Vedas, and so know not the way of salvation, the Brahman knows the way. He gives all his time, his entire life, to the study of these things. He is to be believed and obeyed,

and his instructions are to be followed in every particular. He who disobeys the voice of the Brahman or refuses to learn of him, and to follow the way the Brahman directs, cannot find the way of salvation, but he is of necessity ignorant and miserable in this life and in the life to come. As to the women, however, their chief duty, and the summing up of religion for them, is to be faithful and obedient to their husbands.

The discourse closed with a general and warm exhortation to be faithful to their religion, to be confident in its superiority to every other religion, and always to reverence and implicitly to obey the Brahmans.

After the Çankara-ācārya had finished his discourse, he expressed his willingness to answer any questions or objections that might be proposed. Whereupon, at once, an old man who was a local Vaidya, or doctor, arose and repeated in Gujarati—popularizing and illustrating—a part of what the religious leader of the caste had proclaimed. This aged expounder of the faith was, however, especially minute, insistent, and even excited, when he came to discourse upon the duties of women. He seemed, indeed, rather to go beyond the Çankara-ācārya in expounding and applying this tenet. Not to disobey or to cross their husbands in any way—this was the principal religious duty of woman, upon which the salvation of her soul depended. And for the child-wife, her duty was to be obedient to her mother-in-law. As the speaker waxed somewhat heatedly eloquent upon this summary of true religion for the female portion of the audience, the male portion of the faithful broke into applause by clapping their hands.

After the religious addresses were finished, a young man who was a relative of the family made a short speech, in Gujarati, in which, in the behalf of the family, he thanked those present for their courtesy in assisting at the death ceremonial. And then, to my amazement, he branched off into an extravagant eulogy of the foreign guest who had done the family the honor to be present, and ended with the expression of the hope that this guest would carry back to his native land and report there what he had seen and heard, in order that the false impression current regarding the Hindu religion might be corrected thereby.

After the audience was dismissed Mr. Tribhowandas came up to shake hands and bid us good-bye. He assured us that in consideration of his dignity and influence in the caste, and at his

very urgent request, we had been accorded an entirely unique privilege. So far as I have been able to learn, this statement is strictly true. And it is in grateful recognition of the courtesy, and in the desire to meet the expectation that I would correctly report what I heard and saw, that I have prepared this paper.

So far as I am able to summarize the import of the transaction it confirms the views so naïvely expressed by the pamphlet from which I have quoted. "A Hindu life, if we properly observe, is nothing but a life of ceremonies."

The Editions and Translations of Çakuntalā. — By MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, Jr., Columbia University.

[The material used in this article was gathered in the course of preparation for a "Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama," which the present writer is to publish in the *Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series.*]

THE romantic drama of Çakuntalā, by Kālidāsa, has been a favorite subject for the work of editors and translators ever since the appearance of Sir William Jones' pioneer version in 1789. The intrinsic beauty of the play as well as its position in India as the chef-d'œuvre of the Hindu stage and the representative of the largest and most important division (the nāṭaka properly so-called) of Sanskrit dramaturgy, has caused this just appreciation of the lovely story which has opened the eyes of many persons to the beauties of Sanskrit literature.

The translations of Çakuntalā may be divided into three classes: first, those which were inspired by Sir William Jones' version; second, those which followed the next independent work, that of Chézy (Paris, 1830); and third, the later work upon the play. The editions and commentaries may also be divided in a similar manner.

TRANSLATIONS.[1]

A. English.

1. Sacountalá, or the Fatal Ring . . . translated from the original Sanskrit and Prakrit [by Sir William Jones].

First edition.	Calcutta, 1789, 8vo, pp. 184.
Second edition.	London, 1790, 4to.
Third edition.	London, 1792, 8vo.
Fourth edition.	Edinburgh, 1796, 8vo.
	Calcutta, 1855, 16mo.
	London, 1870, 8vo.

[1] The translations are arranged according to the language in which they are written, and under each heading chronological sequence is followed. An index of translators is appended. In transcribing titles I have usually followed the spelling of the original.

2. S'akuntalá recognized by the Ring, a Sanskrit drama in seven acts . . . The Devanágarí recension of the text with literal English translations of all the metrical passages and notes, by M. Williams.
   First edition. Hertford, 1853, 4to.
   Second edition. Oxford, 1876, 8vo.
3. Sakontala, or the Lost Ring. Translated by M. Williams.
   First edition. Hertford, 1853, 4to.
   Second edition. Hertford, 1855, 4to.
   Third edition. Hertford, 1856, 8vo.
   Fourth edition. London, 1872, 8vo.
   Fifth edition. London, 1887, 8vo.
   Sixth edition. London, 1890, 8vo.

   Sakuntala, translated by Monier Williams, edited by B. V. N. Kīrtikar.
   Bombay, 1885, pp. 98.
   An abridged edition of Williams' version.

   Sākoontala or the lost ring; translated by M. Monier Williams.
   New York, 1885.
4. Abhijnánas'ákuntalā. Edited with a close English translation and various readings by P. N. Patankar.
   Poona, 1889, 8vo, pp. 473.
   Ends with Act IV.
5. Kṛṣṇa Kamal Bhaṭṭācārya. An English translation of Sakuntalā.
   Calcutta, 1891, 12mo, pp. 134.
6. Shakuntala; or the recovered ring; translated by A. H. Edgren.
   New York, 1894, pp. 198.
7. Kalipada Mukerjee. Notes on Sakuntala (I. Notes; II. Translation; III. Appendices).
   Calcutta, 1895, 8vo, pp. 323.

8a. Abhijnana Sakuntalam. Sanskrit Course for the B.A. Examination. Text with Notes and Translations by Bidhubhushan Gosvami.
   Calcutta (1895 ?), 8vo, pp. 464.

8b. Abhiju'ana Sakuntalam. In Bengali, English and Sanskrit. Edited by Bidhu Bhúshan Gosvāmi. With notes and English and Bengali translations.
   Calcutta, 1895, 8vo, pp. 464.
   (This may be identical with 8a.)

8c. Abhijñāna Sakuntalam. With Notes and English and Bengali translations by Bidhu Bhūshan Gosvāmi.
Calcutta, 1895, 8vo, pp. 128.

9. A literal English translation of Abhijñāna Sakuntala with an Introduction by T. R. Ratnam Aiyar.
Madras, 1896, 8vo, pp. 84.

10. Abhijñānaçakuntalā. With the commentary styled Arthadyotanika of Raghavabhaṭṭa. Edited with an English translation, notes, and various readings by M. R. Kale.
Bombay, 1898, 8vo; pp. 44 + 216 + 238.

B. French.

1. Sacontala, ou l'anneau fatal, drame traduit de la langue sanskrit en Anglais, par Sir W. Jones, et de l'Anglais, en Français par le citoyen A. Bruguière; avec des notes des traducteurs.
Paris, 1803, 8vo.

2. La Reconoissance de Sacountala drame sanscrit et prakrit de Calidasa, publié . . . sur un manuscript unique de la Bibliothèque du Roi, accompagné d'une traduction française, de notes philologiques, critiques et littéraires, et suivi d'un appendice par A. L. Chézy.
First edition. Paris, 1830.
Second edition. Paris, 1832, 8vo.

3. Gautier (Théophile). Sacountala, Ballet—Pantomime en deux actes tiré du drame de Calidasa.
Paris, 1859, 8vo.

4. Fauche, Hippolyte. Oeuvres choisies de Kālidāsa.
Paris, 1865, 8vo.
(Contains a translation of Çakuntalā.)

5. La Reconnaisance de Sakountala, drame en sept actes de Kālidāsa, traduit du Sanskrit par P. E. Foucaux.
First edition. Paris, 1867, 18mo, pp. 24 + 188.
Second edition. Paris, 1874.

6. Sacountala. Traduite par Abel Bergaigne et P. Lehugeur.
Paris, 1884, 12mo, pp. 11 + 195.

7. Sakuntala. Version Tamoule. Traduction de la Sakuntala par Gérard Devèze.
In Revue de Linguistique, vol. 19–20–21.
Paris, 1886–88.

8. L'anneau de Çakuntalā, comédie héroique. Traduite par A. Ferdinand Herold.
   Paris, Mercure de France, 1896, 8vo, pp. 161.

C. German.

1. Sakontala oder der entscheidende Ring . . . Aus den Ursprache Sanskrit und Prakrit ins Englische und aus diesem ins Deutsche übersetzt mit Erläuterungen von G. Forster.
   First edition. Mainz und Leipzig, 1791, 8vo, pp. 40 + 366.
   Zweite rechtmässige, von J. G. v. Herder, besorgte Ausgabe.
   Frankfurt am Main, 1803, 8vo, pp. 44 + 267.
   Reprinted at Heidelberg, 1820, 8vo, pp. 44 + 268, and at Leipzig, 1879, 16mo, pp. 136.
2. Sakontala, oder der verhangnissvolle Ring indisches Drama des Kalidas in sechs Aufzügen. Metrisch für die Bühne bearbeitet von Wilhelm Gerhard.
   Leipzig, 1820, pp. 16 + 190.
3. Sakuntala oder der Erkennungsring . . . übersetzt von B. Hirzel.
   First edition. Zürich, 1833, 8vo, pp. 29 + 155.
   Second edition. Zürich, 1849, 8vo.
4. Kālidāsa's Ring—Çakuntala. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von O. Böhtlingk. [Devanāgarī recension.]
   Bonn, 1842, 4to. Large edition.
   Bonn, 1846. Small edition.
5. Çakuntalā von Höppl.
   1854.
   (This may be either a translation or an edition of the text. I can find nothing more about it.)
6. Sakuntala, ein indisches Schauspiel von Kalidasa, aus dem Sanskrit und Prakrit übersetzt und erläutert von Ernest Meier.
   (In Die klassischen Dichtungen der Inder. II. Theil.)
   Stuttgart, 1847–54, 16mo. III. Theile.
7. Sakuntala, indisches Schauspeil von Kalidasa metrisch übersetzt von Edmond Lobedanz.
   First edition. Leipzig, 1854, 8vo, pp. 8 + 164.

Third edition. Leipzig, 1867, 16mo, pp. 6+164.
Fourth edition. Leipzig, 1871.
Sixth edition. Leipzig, 1878, 16mo.
Seventh edition. Leipzig, 1884.

8. Sakuntala . . . aus dem Sanskrit und Prakrit metrisch übersetzt von Ernest Meier.
(In Bibliothek ausländischen Klassiker no. 58. II. Theil.)
First edition. Hildburgshausen, 8vo, 1867.
Second edition. Leipzig, 1874, 8vo.
See also no. 6 above.

9. Aus F. Ruckert's Nachlass. [Containing a translation of Sakuntala.]
Leipzig, 1867, 8vo.
Leipzig, 1876.

10. Sakuntala, Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen frei nach Kalidasa's altindischem Drama von A. Freiherrn von Wolzogen.
Schwerin, 1869, 8vo. (See also no. 15.)

11. Sakuntala Drama in vier Aufzügen . . . Metrisch frei bearbeitet von Arthur.
Dresden, 1871, 8vo.

12. Sakuntala. Drama in fünf Aufzügen. Fur die deutschen Bühnen bearbeitet von A. Donsdorf.
Wien, 1876, 16mo, pp. 72.

13. Çakuntala von Fr. Bodenstedt.
Leipzig, 1887, 4to.

14. Sakuntala. Metrisch übersetzt von Ludwig Fritze.
(In his Indisches Theater. Bd. I.)
Chemnitz, 1877-79, 16mo.

15. Sakuntala . . . Frei nach Kalidasa's Drama von Alfred Freiherrn von Wolzogen. Bühnenausgabe.
Leipzig (1879?), 32mo, pp. 76. (See also no. 10.)

16. Sakuntala. Dichtung von Carl Wittkowsky. Musik von Ph. Scharwenka.
Berlin (1883?), 8vo, pp. 44.

17. Ballet in zwei Akten und fünf Bildern. Nach Kalidasa's Dichtung. Musik von S. Bachrich, in Scene gesetzt von Carl Telle.
Wien, 1884, 12mo, pp. 16.

18. Sakuntala. Drama in sieben Akten von Kalidasa. Deutsch von Hermann Camisso Kellner.
Leipzig, 1890, 32mo, pp. 111.

19. Sakuntala. Indisches Schauspiel. Frei bearbeitet von G. Schmilinsky.
Dresden, 1900, 8vo, pp. 106.

D. Dutch.

1. Sakontala, of de beslissende ring. Indisch schouspel. Mit opheld van G. Forster. Vertaald van [E. M. Post].
Haarlem, 1792, 8vo.
2. Çakuntalā, of het Herkenningsteeken: Indisch tooneelspel in 7 bedrijven van Kalidasa. Uit het Sanskriet vertaald door H. Kern.
Haarlem, 1862, 12mo.

E. Swedish.

1. Schakuntalá, eller den Förlorade Ringen. Ett indiskt skådespel... från Sanskrit öfversatt och förklaradt af H. Edgren. Stockholm, 1875, 8vo.

F. Danish.

1. Sacontalá eller den uheldige Ring, et indiansk Drama af Cálidas; oversat af Original-Sprogene Sanscrit og Prácrit i Engelsk; og heraf i Dansk med en Inleidning tel den danskeoversattelse. (The translator was West.)
Kjöbenhavn, 1793, 8vo, pp. 71 + 230.
2. Sakuntala, Skuespel i syv Optrin oversat og forklaret af M. Hammerich.
Kjöbenhavn, 1845, 8vo, pp. 16 + 139.
1858, 8vo, pp. 170.
1879?

G. Italian.[1]

1. Sacontala ossia L'Anello Fatale. Dramma tradotto dalla lingua orientale Sanskrit nell'idioma inglese dal Sig. W. Jones, indi dall' inglese in francese dal Sig. A. Bruguire, ultimamente dal francese in italiano da L. Doria. Con Note.
Darmstadt, 1815, 8vo, pp. 15 + 214.

[1] There is also an unpublished Italian version of Çakuntalā by Michele Kerbaker. See F. Cimmino, Il Tipo comico del Vidūshaka nell'antico dramma indiano (Napoli, 1898).

2. Sacuntala riconasciuta per mezzo dell' anello. Dramma in sette Atti.
   (In Teatro scelto indiano tradotto del Sanscrito da Antonio Marazzi. Vol. I. Teatro di Calidasa.)
   Milano, 1871–74, 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 430+256.
3. La Sacuntala di Calidasa tradotta dal Sanscrito da O. Perini.
   (In Versioni Indiane.)
   Verona, 1873, 8vo.

H. Spanish.

1. Sakuntala, drama del poeta indio Kalidasa. Version directa del sanskrit por F. Garcia Ayuso.
   (In the "Bibliotheca Sanskrita," edited by Ayuso.)
   Madrid, 1875, 8vo.

I. Russian.

1. Çakuntalā, translated into Russian by Putjata.
   Moskau, 1879.
2. Sakuntala Sanskritskaja drama v 7-mi dij. stvijach.
   Deševaja Biblioteka, A. S. Suvorina, no. 252.

J. Polish.

1. Sakontala czyli piers'cień przeznaczenia: dramat Indyjski w vii aktach z prologiem z Sanskryckiego z rekopismu wydat Hrabia J. Grabowski.
   (Ojasnienia . . . przez J. Forstera.)
   Warzawa, 1861, 8vo.

K. Bohemian.

1. Sakontalo: drama Indické od Kalidasy. Preložil C. Vyprpio.
   (In poesie Svetova pt. 6.)
   1873, 8vo, pp. 200.

L. Bengali.

1. Sakuntala adapted from the Sanscrit drama of Kalidāsa by Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.
   Calcutta? 1885.
2. Abhijñāna Sakuntalam. With notes and English and Bengali translations by Bidhu Bhūshan Gosvāmi. (Cf. A. 8c above.)
   Calcutta, 1895, 8vo, pp. 128.

3. Abhijn'ana Sakuntalam. In Bengali, English and Sanskrit. Edited by Bidhu Bhúshan Gosvámi. With Notes and English and Bengali translations. (Cf. A. 8b, above.)
   Calcutta, 1895, 8vo, pp. 464.
4. Abhijñāna Sakuntalā. Translated into Bengali by Jyōtirindra Nath Tagore.
   Calcutta, 1899, 16mo, pp. 146.

M. Marathi.

1. Shakuntala recognized by the Ring . . . With a translation into Marathi (by Kṛṣṇa Sástri Rajvade).
   Bombay, 1869, 4to, pp. 11 + 266 + 1.
2. Sakuntalā with paraphrases in Sanskrit and in Marathi. (In the Kāvyanāṭakādarça for 1882.)
   Dharwar, 1882, 8vo.
3. Sangita Shakuntala Natak.
   Poona, 1887, 16mo, pp. 176.

N. Hindi.

1. Sakuntala. Translated into Hindi . . . Critically edited with notes by Frederic Pincatt. Text of Kanva Lachman Sinh.
   London, 1876, 4to, pp. 12 + 139.
   London, 1890, 4to.

O. Hindustani.

1. Çakuntalā nāṭaka translated into Hindustani from a Hindi version by Kazīm 'Alī Jawān.
   Lucknow, 1875, 8vo, pp. 31.

P. Tamil.

1. Sakuntala. Version tamoule (by Rāmacandra or Rājanallūr). Traduction de la Sakuntala par Gérard Devèze. (In Revue de Linguistique, vol. 19–20–21.)
   Paris, 1886–88.

Q. Telugu.

1. Sakuntala. A new version in Telugu prose and verse by Dasu Srirúmulu Pantulu.
   Madras, 1898, 8vo, pp. 122.

INDEX OF TRANSLATORS.

Aiyar A. 9.
Arthur C. 11.
Ayuso H. 1.
Bergaigne B. 6.
Bhaṭṭācārya A. 5.
Bodenstedt C. 13
Böhtlingk C. 4.
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Devèze B. 7; P. 1.
Donsdorf C. 12.
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Edgren A. 6; E. 1.
Fauche B. 4.
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Foucaux B. 5.
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Gerhard C. 2.
Gosvāmi A. 8.
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Hammerich F. 2.
Herold B. 8.
Hirzel C. 3.
Höppl C. 5.
Jones A. 1; B. 1; G. 1.
Kale A. 10.
Kazīm O. 1.
Kellner C. 18.
Kerbaker G. note.
Kern D. 2.
Kīrtikar A. 3.
Lehugeur B. 6.
Lobedanz C. 7.
Merazzi G. 2.
Meier C. 6, 8.
Mukerjee M. 7.
Pantulu Q. 1.
Patankar A. 4.
Perini G. 8.
Pincatt N. 1.
Post D. 1.
Putjata I. 1.
Rajvade M. 1.
Rājunallūr P. 1.
Rāmacandra P. 1.
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Tagore L. 4.
Telle C. 17.
Vidyasagar L. 1.
Vyprpio K. 1.
West F. 1.
Williams A. 2, 3.
Wittkowsky C. 16.
Wolzogen C. 10, 15.

TEXT EDITIONS OF ÇAKUNTALĀ.

1. Çakuntala.
   Calcutta, 1761. [First printed edition.]
2. Abhijñānaçakuntalā. With the commentary of Premacandra.
   Calcutta, 1839, 8vo, pp. 159. [Bengali characters.]
3. Çakuntalā. Neue Ausgabe im lateinischen Typen.(?)
4. Abhijñānaçakuntalā.
   Bombay, 1861, 8vo.
5. Abhijñānaçakuntala. Gauriya recension. Edited by Prem Chunder Tarkavāgish.
   Calcutta, 1839, 8vo, pp. 159. [Bengali characters.]
   Calcutta (Mirzapore?), 1860, 8vo, pp. 170.
   Reprinted with additional notes by R. S. Tarkaratna.
   Calcutta, 1864, 8vo, pp. 190.
6. Abhijñāna Çakuntala. Edited with notes by Jaganmohana Tarkālaṅkara and K. Tarkaratna and with a preface in Bengali by V. Majumdar.
   Calcutta, 1869, 8vo, pp. 232.
   (In Majumdar's Series.)
7. Çakuntalā. The Bengālī Recension. With critical notes. Edited by R. Pischel.
   Kiel, London, 1877, 8vo, pp. 11 + 210.
   Kiel, 1886, 8vo, pp. 11 + 210.

8. Sacuntala annulo recognita, fabula scenica Cālidāsi. Textum recensionis devanagaricae recognovit atque glossario sanscritico et pracritico instruxit Carolus Burkhard, Phil. Doct.
   Vratislaviae, 1872, 8vo, pp. 12+112+227.
9. Abhijñāna Sakuntalum. Edited with a commentary [called Rūpaprakāça] by Damaru Vallabha Panta.
   Calcutta, 1871, 8vo, pp. 2+236.
10. Abhijñānaçakuntala, with Çrīnivāsācārya's commentary, called Çākuntalavayākhya. Edited by Sarasvatī Tiruveṇkaṭācārya and V. Rāmakṛishṇamācārya.
   Madras, 1874, 8vo, pp. 6+320.
11. Abhijñānaçakuntala. Edited with notes and explanations by Iśhwarachandra Vidyāsāgara.
   Calcutta, 1880, 8vo, pp. 262.
   Calcutta, 1887, 8vo, pp. 293.
   Calcutta, 1889, 8vo, pp. 256.
12. Çakuntalā, with commentary by Çrīṅivasāchārya.
   Madras, 1880, 8vo, pp. 6+326.
13. Sakuntala nātaka. With the commentary of Çrīnivāsa Charlu.
   Madras, 1882, 8vo, pp. 320. [In Grantha character.]
14. Çakuntala, with the Arthadyotanika of Rāghavabhaṭṭa.
   1883(?).
15. Abhijñāna s'akuntala, with the commentary (Arthadyotanikā) of Rāghavabhaṭṭa. Edited with English notes by N. B. Godabole and K. P. Parab.
   Bombay, 1883, 8vo, pp. 7+122+134+68.
16. Abhijñāna-Sākuntala, with the commentary (Arthadyotanikā of Rāghavabhaṭṭa. Edited by N. B. Godabole and K. P. Parab.
   Bombay, 1883, 8vo, pp. 167.
   Bombay, 1886, 8vo, pp. 270.
   Bombay, 1891, 8vo, pp. 267.
   Bombay, 1895, 8vo.
   The same as no. 14, except that this has no notes.
17. Sakuntala natakam with commentary by Paravastu Venkatacharia.
   Madras, 1883, 8vo, pp. 345.
18. Abhijñāna Sākuntalā. Edited by N. B. Godabole and K. P. Parab.
   Bombay, 1889, 8vo, pp. 276.
   Compare nos. 14 and 15.

CRITICAL WORKS.[1]

1. Notes on Sakuntala. In Bengali, English and Sanskrit.
   Calcutta, 1895, 8vo, pp. 323.
2. Berchet, Giovanni.
   Saggio sul dramma indiano la Sacontala, ossia l'Anello fatale, di Calidasa.
   (In the "Conciliatore" under pseudonym of Grisostomo.)
   Milano(?), 1818.
3. Böhtlingk, Otto von.
   Einige Nachträge zu meiner Ausgabe der Ring-Çakuntalā.
   (In Bul. de la cl. des sciences hist.-phil. et pol. de l'acad. de St. Petersbourg. II., 119.)
4. Bollensen, Fr.
   Die Recensionen der Sakuntala.
   (In Nachrichten d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen June 23, 1880.)
5. Borooah, Anundoram.
   A Companion to the Sanskrit reading Undergraduates of Calcutta University . . . Part 4, on the Abhignāna Sakuntala of Kālidāsa.
   Calcutta, 1878, 8vo, pp. 6+58.
6. Burkhard, K.
   Die Kaçmīrer Çakuntalā-Handschrift.
   Wien, Ac. 1884, 8vo, 3 Taf., pp. 163.
7. Burkhard, C. Lectiones codicis Cakuntali Bikānōrensis.
   Wien, 1883, 8vo, pp. 16, 1 plate.
   Prog. d. Franz-Josephs Gymn.
8. Burkhard, C.
   Flexiones Pracriticae quas editioni suae Sacuntali pro supplemento adjecit Carolus Burkhard.
   Vratislaviae, 1874, 8vo, pp. 9+41.
9. Notes et corrections supplémentaires pour l'édition in 4° du drame indien de Cālidāsa intitulé La Reconnaissance de Sacountala donnée en 1830 par A. L. Chézy.
   Paris, 1831, 8vo, pp. 49.

[1 Works of general criticism of Sanskrit literature which mention Çakuntalā only incidentally are not noted here. It is further to be observed that no manuscripts of Çakuntalā are here catalogued. It is impossible to give any complete list of these, scattered as they are throughout private and public libraries in India and in Europe. They will, however, be included as far as possible in my Bibliography.]

10. Sur un drame indien, par M. H. H. Wilson; extrait du Calcutta Annual Register, et traduit par M. Dondey-Dupré fils, membre de la Société Asiatique.
JA. Ire sér, vol. I. (1827), pp. 174–179.
11. Sukoontala Natuk; being an Appendix to the English and Hindoostanee Dialogues in the Universal Character by J. B. Gilchrist.
London, 1826, 8vo, pp. 20+104.
12. Hamaker, H. A. Over de Sakontala van Calidas.
13. Hedström, O. F. Om Sakuntala.
Upsala, 1875, 8vo.
14. Pischel, R.
De Kālidāsae Çakuntali recensionibus (Particula prima). Dissertatio inauguralis philologica quam scripsit Ricardus Pischel.
Vratislaviae, 1870, 8vo, pp. 67.
15. Pischel, R.
Die Recensionen der Çakuntalā. Eine Antwort an Herrn Prof. A. Weber.
Breslau, 1875, 8vo, pp. 27. (See no. 18.)
16. Rabe, Carolus.
De Calidasae Sacuntala. Dissertatio inauguralis.
Vratislaviae, 1845, 8vo, pp. 35.
17. Sakuntalā-Rahasya. The true import of the Sakuntalā by Vihārī Lāl Sarkār.
Calcutta, 1896, 8vo, pp. 144.
18. Weber, A.
Die Recensionen der Çakuntalā.
In Indische Studien, vol. XIV, pp. 35 ff. and 161 ff. (See no. 15.)

The Hindu Conception of the Functions of Breath.—A Study in Early Hindu Psycho-physics.—By Dr. ARTHUR H. EWING, Allahabad, India.

INTRODUCTORY AND FUNDAMENTAL.

THE Yajur-Veda, the Atharva-Veda, the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras contain frequent references to a number of vital breaths. These are expressed either by the plural of the word *prāṇa*, or by a series of words, formed by the combination of adverbial prefixes with the root $\sqrt{an}$ "to breathe," viz.: *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *vyāna*, *udāna*, *samāna*, and *avāna*. These vital breaths or *prāṇas* are manipulated with especial frequency in connection with ritual practices. The exigencies of the ritual determine what and how many breaths shall be exploited. This exploitation of the *prāṇas* attains its most luxuriant form in connection with the building of the great Fire-altar (Agnikṣetra). The Fire-altar is conceived of under various forms. Sometimes its shape is supposed to be like a bird (cf. ÇB. Books vii.–x.); sometimes like a sacrificial animal (ÇB. viii. 1. 4. 3, etc.); sometimes like a human being (ÇB. iv. 1. 1. 1; vi. 1. 1. 5; vii. 4. 1. 23, etc.).

The living organism (*ātman*), thus assumed, cannot exist without vital breaths, and, accordingly, under various arrangements of name and number, they hold a large place in its construction. When names are given, the reference is to breathing processes, real, or analogically assumed. When numbers are given, the emphasis is either upon the location of a separate breath in the several parts of the body (ÇB. viii. 3. 4. 4, etc.), or upon either the psychical organs, or their activities, both organs and activities being called *prāṇas*.

This distinction between a plurality by names and a plurality by number is fundamental and divides the subject of the vital breaths into two well-defined spheres of investigation. The latter is the much more important of the two in their relation to Hindu thought. It not only directly introduces the question of the relation between the psychical *prāṇas* and the cosmico-divine concepts, Agni, Vāyu, etc.—thus involving the whole question of psycho-physical correlations; but it leads to the discussion of the

various meanings of *prāṇa* in the singular—thus raising the problem of the relationship between *prāṇa* and the psychical and metaphysical concept, Atman. The former is formulaic, or largely so, and smacks of the ritual, and hence is less fruitful than might, at first sight, be anticipated.

At the same time, the series of names, whether representing observed and observable breath activities, or being mainly symbolic additions to an empiric starting-point, is worthy of careful investigation, because of the large place which these names hold in the literature, and because of the attempts at explanation which appear in the Upaniṣads.

PRĀṆA IN THE RIG-VEDA.

The propriety of making the Rig-Veda the starting-point in this discussion is self-evident. Its material, moreover, will be found to be fundamental to both divisions of the subject as above indicated, and, therefore calls for preliminary investigation.

Though the amount of material is comparatively meagre, yet the importance of the literature in which it is found, justifies a somewhat detailed statement which will contain all the uses both of the noun *prāṇa* and the verb $\sqrt{an}$.

The noun occurs but five times, viz.: i. 66. 1; iii. 53. 21; x. 59. 6; x. 90. 13; x. 189. 2. It is formed from the verbal root $\sqrt{an}$, "to breathe," by the addition of the prefix *pra*.

RV. i. 66. 1.

In this stanza *prāṇa* is one of the things with which fire (*agni*) is compared. It is said to be "like excellent riches, like the sun, like life (*āyus*), like one's own son."

The point to be noted here is the identification of "breath" and "life." The two words stand side by side without a connective. The accent of *āyus* shows it to be a noun. Even if, according to a recognized Vedic usage, we allow an adjectival force to *āyus* and translate by "living breath," there will be a clear hint of identification. In i. 48. 10, the derivative *prāṇana* stands side by side with *jīvana* in a line addressed to the Dawn, thus: "The very breath (and) life of all are in Thee, O joyous One, when Thou shinest forth." There is no connective between the words *prāṇana*, *jīvana*, and they may be translated "Breath, even life," "*viçvasya hi prāṇanaṁ jīvanaṁ tve*, etc." *Prāṇana* may indeed be taken as a causative adjective.

RV. iii. 53. 21.

Yam u dviṣmas tam u prāṇo jahātu, "Whomsoever we hate, let his breath leave him." This suggests the witchcraft practices which are especially characteristic of the Atharva-Veda. The identification of death and departing breath, as assumed here, is axiomatic and requires no remark.

RV. x. 59. 6.

Here *prāṇa* is sought by prayer, side by side with other parts and powers of the human organism, viz.: eye, mind (*manas*) and life-principle (*asu*).

RV. x. 90. 13.

This hymn is the famous Puruṣa-sūkta. In stanza 13, the wind (*Vāyu*) is said to have been produced from the breath of cosmic man. As the giant form of a primeval cosmic man undoubtedly took shape in the poet's thought by a projection of himself upon the universe, we are justified in interpreting each part and organ as though, at least in the first instance, the individual earthly man was referred to. *Prāṇa* is, therefore, the physical breath whose identity with wind is here assumed. The second half of the stanza runs, *mukhād indraç cā 'gniç ca prāṇād vāyur ajāyata*. These words not only express the axiomatic identification of *wind* and *breath*, to which countless references are made in Hindu literature; but the derivation of Agni from the mouth, whence issues the *warm* vital breath, which is also used in the production of fire, suggests the still more oft-recurring correlation of *agni* and *prāṇa*.

RV. x. 189. 2.

This stanza occurs in a hymn to Sūrya. The shooting forth of the rays is likened to the exhalation of animal breath.

Antaç carati rocanā 'sya prāṇād apānatī, "The shining one, breathing out (or off) from his breath moves about within." The third pāda adds, "The mighty one illumines the heaven." Whatever be the detailed interpretation and reference of these words, it is clear that *prāṇa* is here viewed simply as physical breath.

Verbal and Participial Forms of the Root $\sqrt{an}$.

These forms, whether from the simple root or the root compounded with prefixes, are of equal importance with the noun,

and indeed, because of their variety, even more suggestive. There are two forms made from the simple root:

RV. x. 129. 2.

This is the important "*Nāsadāsīya*" theosophic hymn. The Vedic Imperfect *ānīt* is found in the second stanza thus:

Ānīd avātaṁ svadhayā tad ekaṁ, "That One, without wind, breathed by Its own will." This passage expresses by contrast the dependence of breath upon wind (*vāta*). That which differentiates the primitive Only from all else is the fact that It performed the act of breathing without having *wind* to start with.

RV. i. 164. 30.

Here the participle *anat* is used. The verse describes a "breathing swift-moving, living (*jīvam*), self-stirring One, who lies firm-fixed in the midst of our dwellings." Though Grassman rightly describes this line as obscure, and its connection with the context is not easy to make out, yet there seems no reason to doubt that the main reference is to the house-fire. The flaming up of fire seems to the poet's fancy like the breathing process of animal life.

We find three instances of $\sqrt{an}$ compounded with *pra*.

RV. x. 32. 8.

The form used is the imperfect *prāṇīt*. The line runs as follows: "Just now to-day he breathed"—*adyed u prāṇīt*—"he remembered those days (when) hidden, he sucked the bosom of his mother." The hymn is addressed to Indra. The connection of the stanzas is uncertain and the meaning obscure. Here probably the reference is to the fire which has been hidden in wood, which is produced by water. Sāyaṇa is doubtless right in thinking that the poet here speaks of the fire which has just been produced by the friction of the churning-sticks rubbed together. The word *prāṇīt* is doubly suggestive. (1) The breath of life is a fitting figure of the issuing forth of fire from wood, as, to the Hindu observer, it seems to do. (2) Breath was used along with the churning-sticks in the production of fire, and, therefore, to say that "Agni breathed" is an expression justified by the phenomenon.

RV. x. 125. 4.

Prāṇiti stands here side by side with verbs of seeing and hearing. The goddess Speech (Vāc) speaks in her own praise, "By

me doth he who sees, breathes, and hears what is said, obtain (lit. 'eat') food." All breath movements are clearly included in the one word.

RV. x. 121. 3.

In this third stanza of the well-known Hiraṇyagarbha hymn, the participle *prāṇat* is used. It stands with the participle *nimiṣat*. Hiraṇyagarbha is declared to be the sole Ruler of all that moves (*jagat*) both the "breathers" and the "eye-closers," cf. AV. x. 8. 6 and xii. 1. 3 and 4. The distinction between the two classes of beings here mentioned, if there be a real distinction, is not clear. The gods are said to be *animiṣantaḥ*. Mitra is so called in RV. iii. 59, and vii. 60. Bṛhaspati is described as "*animiṣācārya*," "The teacher of the gods," cf. PW. "Breathers" may therefore include both earthly and heavenly beings, while "eye-closers" describe only the former. On the other hand, it is not impossible to understand by "breathers" heavenly beings who do not close their eyes, who "neither slumber nor sleep." The former of the two opinions is preferable, since *breathing* is the most salient phenomenon of all moving life.

In connection with these three examples of *pra* with $\sqrt{an}$, it is to be noted that the prefix adds nothing in the way of defining the direction of the breath movement. At most the difference between $\sqrt{an}$ with *pra* and $\sqrt{an}$ alone is one of intensity. Both forms cover breathing in general, without any hint of distinction between in-breathing and out-breathing.

$\sqrt{an}$ with apa. RV. x. 189. 2.

The form used is the feminine of the present participle. The passage has already been discussed under *prāṇa*. The important words are *prāṇād apānatī*, which have been translated, "breathing out (or off) from his breath." The prefix *apa* has the force of "out," "off," or "away from." Here we have the sole Rig-Vedic basis of the noun form *apāna*.

$\sqrt{an}$ with sam. RV. x. 55. 5.

This stanza contains the only instance of this compound in the Rig-Veda. The form used is the perfect. The theme under treatment is the moon. The context expresses the thought that the old moon swallows up the new one. "Behold the wisdom of the gods"—so runs the line—"to-day he died, yesterday he came

to life"—*adyā mamāra sa hyaḥ sam āna.* The force of the prefix in such a connection is rather uncertain. PW. suggests both "aufathmen" and "zu Leben kommen." The latter seems preferable since it may be inferred from the literal meaning of the compound, viz.: "breathed together." Probably the force of the prefix is merely intensive and we might translate by the simple word "breathes;" for to breathe is to live and in contrast with *mamāra* means to come to life.

Summary of Results for the Rig-Veda.

(1) Including *prāṇana* with *prāṇa*, there are six passages where the noun is used. In three of them *prāṇa* signifies *breath in general*, cf. x. 59. 6; x. 90. 13 and x. 189. 2. In the three other passages it is put more or less definitely for *life*, cf. i. 48. 10; i. 66. 1 and iii. 53. 21.

(2) The prefix *pra* adds at most a slight intensive force to the root $\sqrt{an}$.

(3) The prefix *apa* has the force of "out" or "off" and its use in the single instance is of value in determining the meaning of *apāna.*

(4) The use of *sam* with $\sqrt{an}$ throws no light upon the meaning and use of *samāna.*

The Rig-Veda, therefore, shows, on the one hand, absolutely no indication of any attempt to specialize various breaths, and, on the other hand, furnishes no instance of the plural number of *prāṇa* and only those uses of the singular which are primitive and axiomatic.

CHAPTER I.

VIEWS OF TRANSLATORS AND SUMMARY OF MATERIAL.

A. Diverse and Varying Views of Leading Translators.

We take up first the Name series of vital breaths. The series of names is as follows: *prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna,* and *samāna.* To these may be added the unique *avāna*, which appears but once, viz., in JB. Up.,[1] ii. 5. Apart from the challenge to investigation thrown out by such a series of names, the conflicting views of translators, notably as regards *prāṇa* and *apāna*, indicate that there is need for a careful survey of and inquiry into the whole material which the earlier literature supplies.

[1] Otherwise Talavakāra Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa.

The situation, as illustrated by the work of leading translators, is, briefly stated, as follows:[1]

(1) Haug, in his Āitareya Brāhmaṇa, is consistent. *Prāṇa* is given throughout as "air inhaled" and *apāna* as "air exhaled." One single textual slip must be noted. His text in iv. 14. 5, has *prāṇodānāu*, but he still translates as though it were *prāṇāpānāu*, or *prāṇa* and *apāna*.

(2) Böhtlingk also in his translation of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad adheres to Einhauch and Aushauch for *prāṇa* and *apāna* with entire consistency.

(3) Bloomfield, in his "Hymns of the Atharva-Veda" (SBE., vol. xlii), is consistent throughout. He translates *prāṇa* by "in-breathing," and *apāṇa* by "out-breathing," whether they appear as separate words or in the copulative compound *prāṇāpānāu*. In only one instance (AV. xii. 3. 28) is there a variation made, and this is merely verbal, as for example when the compound is translated by the phrase "breaths of life."

(4) Griffith, in his translations of the Atharva-Veda and the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā of the White Yajur-Veda, generally makes the same distinction between *prāṇa* and *apāna* as that made by the translators already mentioned. "In-breath and out-breath;" "inhaling and exhaling;" "inspiration and expiration"—these are some of the forms of translation which he uses.

(5) Müller, in his translation of certain Upaniṣads (SBE. vols. i. and xv.), takes a different view. *Prāṇa* is rendered by "up-breathing" fifteen times; "breath that goes up," twice; "breath" twice, and "scent" three times. *Apāna*, on the other hand, appears as "down-breathing" twenty times; "breath that goes down," twice, and "off-breathing," once.

(6) Röer, in his translation of Upaniṣads (Bibl. Indica, vol. ii., pt. iii.) renders *prāṇa* by "vital air which goes forward," or by "breath;" and *apāna* by "vital air which goes downward or descends."

(7) Rajendra Lala Mitra, in his Chāndogya Upaniṣad, translates *prāṇa* and *apāna* in i. 3. 5 by "respiration" and "inspiration;" in other passages he merely transliterates the words.

(8) Cowell in Māitri Upaniṣad (Bibl. Indica, 1870) gives for *prāṇa* "air which goes upward," three times, and "respiration,"

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[1] Add now: Caland, ZDMG. lv. 261 ff.; Böhtlingk, *ibid.* 518. [Note of correction.]

once; and for *apāna* "air which goes downward," three times, and "descending air," once.

Thus far we have found a measure of consistency in divergence of views. On the crucial question as to the meaning of *prāṇa* when contrasted with *apāna*, Haug, Böhtlingk, Bloomfield, and Griffith decide for "in-breathing," while Müller, Röer, Mitra, and Cowell think that the word means "out- or up-breathing."

(9) With Deussen, however, in his "Sechzig Upaniṣads des Veda," there enters what appears to be the greatest confusion. No attempt at translation is made except in five Upaniṣads, viz.: Ch. Up.; Bṛh. Ār. Up.; Kaṭh. Up.; Āit. Up., and Tāitt. Up. In all other cases where the words occur they are merely transliterated. A careful scrutiny of the material in the above-named Upaniṣads shows that the passages have been about equally divided between the two opposing lines of opinion. By including a few references in which the verbs $\sqrt{an}$ with *pra*, and $\sqrt{an}$ with *apa* are used, we find that in thirteen instances *prāṇa* and *apāna* are translated by "Aushauch" and "Einhauch," and in fourteen instances by "Einhauch" and "Aushauch." Of the five Upaniṣads mentioned above, four are represented in both lists. It is only fair to say just here that this divergence does not represent the inadvertence of hurried translation, since our author emphasizes his opinion in certain footnotes, while in his "Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie," vol. i. (a) pp. 248 ff. he defends the view that *prāṇa* sometimes means "Aushauch."

(10) However surprising the above results from Deussen, Eggeling, in his five volumes of the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa (SBE., vols. xii., xxvi., xli., xlii., and xliv.), presents even greater variation in translating the terms under discussion. In order to understand the situation the additional breath-name *udāna* must be included in our review. In about forty passages *prāṇa* and *udāna* are translated as "out-breathing and in-breathing." In ÇB. i. 4. 3. 11 and 12, however, where *prāṇa*, *apāna*, and *udāna* occur, the first two are translated by "out-breathing and in-breathing," and *udāna* by "up-breathing." In many other places, also, the translation of *udāna* is "up-breathing." In the last volume of his work, which has recently issued from the press, viz., in 1900 (SBE., vol. xliv.), *udāna* is in every instance rendered by "up-breathing."

As to *prāṇa* and *apāna*, they appear in book i. as "out-breathing," and either "down-breathing" or "off-breathing." In books

xi.–xiv. there is evidence of another insight and so *prāṇa* is represented either by "breath" or "out- (and in-) breathing," or "in-breathing;" while *apāna* appears everywhere as "off-breathing;" cf. also ix. 2. 1. 17, where we have a single instance of the rendering which prevails in the last four books, i. e., "in-breathing" and "out-breathing."

B. SUMMARY OF MATERIAL.

Prāṇa, Apāna, Vyāna, Udāna, and Samāna.

It will be a distinct gain to have before the mind as definite an idea as possible of the extent and distribution of the material which comes under what we may call the Prāṇa-Series, especially as only a small portion of it is to receive detailed treatment.

To this end the following summary of such material as is found in the Vedas, Upaniṣads, important Brāhmaṇas, and certain of the Sūtras, has been prepared.

I. Material in re the Prāṇa-Series in the White Yajur-Veda.

The Vājasaneya Saṁhitā contains the names of all the five members of the series. No attempt at an explanation of the various terms is made. The number and location of the references are as follows:

Prāṇāpānāu ..... Once.
Prāṇa and *apāna* ..... Twice.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna ..... Nine times.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna ..... Three times.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna, samāna ..... Once.
Prāṇa, vyāna, udāna ..... Twice.
Prāṇa, udāna, vyāna ..... Once.
Prāṇa, vyāna ..... Once.
Prāṇa, udāna ..... Once.
Prāṇas, vyāṇas (100 *prāṇas*, 1000 *vyānas* of Agni) ..... Once.

Note that *samāna* appears but once, and that *vyāna* surpasses *apāna* in frequency of use.

II. Material in re the Prāṇa-Series in the Atharva-Veda.

Prāṇāpānāu ..... Nineteen times.
Prāṇa and *apāna* ..... Seventeen times.
Prāṇas and *apānas* ..... Three times.

Prāṇa, vyāna ..... Once.
Seven prāṇas, apānas, vyānas ..... Once.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna ..... Eleven times.
Prāṇāpānāu and *vyānodānāu* ..... Twice.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, samāna ..... Once.
Vyāna ..... Once.

Verbs and Participles.

The simple verb $\sqrt{an}$ is used once. $\sqrt{An}$ with *pra* is used as a verb thirteen times, and as a participle eight times. $\sqrt{An}$ with *apa* appears twice as a verb and once as a participle. $\sqrt{An}$ with *vi* is used once in its participial form, and $\sqrt{an}$ with *ud* once as a finite verb.

Note that we have no instance in the AV. where the five names appear together.

Note also the large use of *prāṇa* and *apāna*, in comparison with their meagre use in VS.

III. Material in re the Prāṇa-Series in the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Our résumé here includes the entire Brāhmaṇa with the exception of that part of book xiv. which is handled separately as the Bṛh. Ār. Upaniṣad. Eleven of the references which enter into the following count are quoted from the Vājasaneya Saṁhitā.

Prāṇodānāu ..... Forty-one times.
Prāṇa, udāna, vyāna ..... Fifteen times.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna ..... Six times.
Prāṇa, vyāna, udāna ..... Five times.
Prāṇa, apāna ..... Seven times.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna ..... Three times.
Prāṇa, apāna, udāna ..... Twice.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna, samāna ..... Twice.
Prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, udāna, samāna ..... Once.
Prāṇa, udāna ..... Four times.
Vyāna, udāna ..... Once.
Prāṇa, vyāna ..... Once.
Udāna ..... Once.

IV. Material in re the Prāṇa-Series in the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka.

The material from the Āraṇyaka given below does not claim to be exhaustive. What is here represented has been collected with the aid of Bloomfield's Concordance of the Mantras and Formulas

of Hindu literature. This Concordance has been made available to the writer in MS. form. Inasmuch as the Prāṇa-Series is formulaic, it is probable that very little, if any, material has been omitted from the following list :

Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna, samāna.....Nine times.
Prāṇa, vyāna, apāna .....Twice.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna .....Once.
Prānāpānāu .....Once.

V. Material in re the Prāṇa-Series in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.

This Brāhmaṇa contains both the Prāṇava and Gāyatrī Upaniṣads (i. 1. 16–30 ; 31–38). In the Upaniṣad material there is only one reference to the Prāṇa-Series ; hence we summarize here the entire Brāhmaṇa.

Prāṇapānāu ... .Ten times.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna.....Three times.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, samāna.....Once.
Seven prāṇas, apānas, vyānas.....Once.
Fifteen prāṇas, apānas, vyānas, samānas, udānas .....Once.
Seven prāṇas, apānas .....Once.
Prāṇa, udāna.....Once.
Prāṇāpānāu, samānavyānāu, udānarūpe..Twice.

VI. Material in re the Prāṇa-Series in the Upaniṣads.

There is included in the following review the sixty Upaniṣads translated by Deussen, the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, and the Bhagavad Gītā. The whole is, for the purpose of the present summary, viewed as a unit. Many of the references here will be considered in detail later. Perhaps the most notable feature is the marked variation in the order in which the names appear. The uses of verbs and participles are omitted, as practically all instances are to be noted later.

Apāna .....Three times.
Prāṇāpānāu .....Seven times.
Prāṇa and *apāna*.....Seventeen times.
Prāṇa, apānu, vyāna .....Ten times.
Prāṇa, vyāna, apāna .....Twice.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, samāna.....Twice.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, samāna, avāna.....Twice.

Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, samāna, avāna, udāna. Twice.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, samāna, udāna ....Four times.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna, samāna.....Nine times.

(Three from Mahānārāyaṇa Up., i. e. TĀ., book X.)

Prāṇa, apāna, samāna, udāna, vyāna.....Twice.
Prāṇa, apāna, samāna, vyāna, udāna.....Once.
Apāna, vyāna, prāṇa, samāna, udāna.....Once.
Prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, samāna, udāna.....Four times.
Apāna, prāṇa.....Four times.
Vyāna .....Once.

VII. Material in re the Prāṇa-Series in the Sūtra Literature.

Bloomfield's Concordance (in manuscript) and indexes to the Sūtras have made it possible to rapidly scrutinize a good deal of Sūtra literature. A single member of the Prāṇa-Series is frequently mentioned, the others being understood as following on—so entirely formulaic is the material. This is especially true of the Kāty. Çrāuta Sūtra. We have noted the following references in the Vāitāna, Kāuçika, Pāraskara Gṛhya, Mānava Gṛhya and Kātyāyana Çrāuta Sūtras.

Prāṇāpānāu .....Seven times.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, samāna, udāna.....Once.
Prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, udāna, samāna.....Once.
Prāṇa, apāna .....Twice.
Prāṇa, vyāna .....Once.
Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna.....Once.
Prāṇāpānāu, samānavyānāu, udānarūpe..Twice.

Six instances where *prāṇa* introduces one or more of the remaining members of the Prāṇa-Series—the form having become thoroughly stereotyped.

CHAPTER II.

ATTEMPTS MADE BY HINDU SCHOLARS TO EXPLAIN THE PRĀṆA-SERIES.

In a systematic attempt to arrive at the method of interpreting the material just outlined, it seems fitting to first ascertain the views of Hindu writers as to the meaning and empiric application of the various terms used.

No serious attempt to explain the Prāṇa-Series, in whole or in part, is made in the literature where its use is most frequent, viz.: YV., AV., and ÇB. The manipulation of *pra* and *ā* in ÇB. i. 4. 1. 5, and similar passages is not to be taken too seriously. The Upaniṣads, however, offer several more or less thorough attempts at detailed explanation. No two explanations are in entire accord; in fact the differences are rather more marked than the agreements. This situation indicates an uncertainty as to the meaning originally intended no less marked than the uncertainty of modern scholars as shown by their divergencies of translation.

The Hindu attempts at explanation may best be considered passage by passage in order that each may be carefully scrutinized and criticised.

Maitri Upaniṣad ii. 6.

Prajāpati, having transformed himself into wind (*vāyu*), determined to enter into the creatures which he had made for the purpose of animating them (*pratibodhanāya*), seeing that they were as yet lifeless. As single, he (Prajāpati-Vāyu) could not do this, so he divided himself into five parts, becoming *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *samāna*, *udāna*, and *vyāna*.

Prāṇa ascends upwards—*ūrdhvam utkrāmati.*

Apāna moves downward—*avāñ saṁkrāmati.*

Vyāna is that by which these (*prāṇa* and *apāna*) are supported (*anugṛhītā*).

Samāna is that which conducts into *apāna*—*apāne prāpayati*—the grossest element of food and distributes—*samānayati*—the subtile (elements of food) into the various portions of the body—*aṅge aṅge.* It (*samāna*) is a higher form of *vyāna*—*uttaraṁ vyānasya rūpam*,—and between them is the production (or rise) of *udāna*—*cāi 'teṣām antarā prasūtir evo 'dānasya.*

Udāna is that which ejects or belches forth—*udgirati*—and swallows down—*nigirati*—that which is drunk and eaten.

In the note of explanation which is interposed between the definitions of *samāna* and *udāna* and begins, "*uttaram vyānasya*," we would differ somewhat from Cowell. He translates, but without reason as it seems to us, thus: "The *vyāna* comes after the others and the rise of the *udāna* is interposed before it."

The meaning of the passage as we have translated it is not without obscurity, but it is certainly less obscure than the rendering Cowell gives, and it has, moreover, the advantage, as we believe, of representing the text as it stands.

In the case of each of the definitions, the name of the thing defined comes after the definition, and the name is introduced by "*eṣa vāva sa.*" In the case of *samāna*, the "*eṣa vāva sa*" sentence is lengthened out so as to define it (*samāna*) in its relation to the names which precede and follow: *eṣa vāva sa samāna-saṁjñā uttaraṁ vyānasya rūpaṁ cāi 'teṣām antarā prasūtir evo 'dānasya*, "Verily this one named *samāna* is a higher form of *vyāna*," etc. There is no break in thought between *samānasaṁjñā* and *uttaraṁ*, etc.

The above definitions enable us to characterize with some degree of accuracy the writer's position.

1. *Prāṇa* and *apāna* do not stand for the two simple breath movements up-breathing and down-breathing or *vice versa*. On the contrary, we have here the point of view for which certain passages of the ÇB. form the basis, viz.: that there are two main movements of the breath, one upwards from the navel, the other downwards.

Prāṇa, therefore, includes both inhalation and exhalation, while *apāna* refers to that movement of breath which takes place in the evacuation both of excrement, and urine and semen. Careful observation of one's own sensations, in connection with these bodily functions, especially when effort is required or experimentally used, will reveal the impression of a downward movement of the air which has been inhaled. This sensation is doubtless the empiric basis of the above definition. The use of the word *apāna* in the same section to describe the place where the grossest parts of food go, renders the explanation of *apāna*, which has just been given, entirely certain. In this use of the word Cowell translates it by "lower bowel." It is not possible to decide finally whether the reference is to the "lower bowel" or to the air or "breath" which moves in the lower bowel. The contrast between "*aṅge aṅge*" and *apāna* suggests, however, that Cowell is right and that the meaning has passed over from "the air which moves in the lower bowel" to the lower bowel itself.

2. *Udāna*, as described, seems to refer to eructation. This the people of India consider to be a phenomenon of good digestion at the present day. Belching is looked upon as "good form" and is reckoned to be a sure sign that the food or drink just consumed will digest properly. The first of the two verbs used in the definition frequently means "to vomit." The use of the verbs side by side, however, points to the phenomenon of eructation.

3. *Samāna*, according to this writer, is the breath which carries on the process of digestion. The verb may be a compound of $\sqrt{nī}$ with *sam* and *ā* or it may be the denominative of the noun or adjective *samāna*, or again it can be, as Whitney makes it, the causative of $\sqrt{an}$ with *sam*. The most probable of the three possibilities seems to us to be the second. The noun *samāna* is taken as the basis, while, at the same time, in the intended meaning, there is a play upon the adjective *samāna*, meaning "same" or "like." Perhaps the most striking phenomenon of the animal organism is that of digestion. It was sure to be identified with one of the commonly assumed breath processes. *Samāna* is readily suggested by the adjective *samāna* whose meaning fits in with what takes place in digestion. The mere conception is a sufficient argument; lo, the thing is done! The identification is complete and *samāna* makes equal (*samānayati*), or assimilates food and drink. If the verb be $\sqrt{nī}$, plus *sam* and *ā*, there is still to be understood a play upon both adjective and noun.

This is really a brilliant example of that fanciful etymologizing in which the Hindu excels, doubtless because of his theory of the power inherent in each syllable of articulate sounds.

4. *Vyāna* is that breath which is always present even when there is no breath activity either upward or downward (cf. Ch. Up. i. 3. 3), and therefore, both *prāṇa* and *apāna* may be said to depend upon it.

5. The sense in which *samāna* is a higher form of *vyāna* is confessedly obscure, but it may be suggested tentatively that while the latter represents the breath ever present in the body merely as the support of *prāṇa* and *apāna*, the former is the same breath considered as active in the digestive process.

6. The sense in which *udāna* is looked upon as between *vyāna* and *samāna* is also quite uncertain. May not the allusion be to the phenomenon of eructation, which we have seen to be identified with *udāna*, since it takes place after food and before digestion? As *samāna* is *vyāna* engaged in digestion and as *vyāna* is, of course (cf. definition), present before and while food is being taken, therefore, it is not impossible to conceive that it is in this sense that *udāna* is between *vyāna* and *samāna*.

There is, to be sure, nothing very profound in our author's meaning, if we have rightly interpreted him; but this need not surprise us—in fact, the demand for profundity must be avoided as a snare in the interpretation of literature of this type.

Amṛtabindu Upaniṣad, 32–35.

32. *triṇçatparvā 'ṅgulaḥ prāṇo yatra prāṇaḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ,*
eṣa prāṇa iti khyāto bāhyaprāṇaḥ sagocaraḥ.

"Thirty thumb-breadths is the *prāṇa* (from) where the *prāṇa* is located. The *prāṇa*, thus named, has the external *prāṇa* (the sun) as its correlate (*sagocaraḥ*—having-a-with-sphere)."

33. This stanza describes the number of times breath is inhaled and exhaled within the period of a day and a night. The number is put at 113,680, "*açītiḥ ṣaṭçataṁ cāi 'va sahasrāṇi trayodaça lakṣaç cai 'kaḥ.*" This number is probably to be divided by five (cf. Deussen *in loco*), since five breaths are mentioned below and each one is doubtless supposed to have the same number of movements. This is certainly true with reference to in-breathing and out-breathing and is analogically assumed in the case of the others. The above number divided by five gives 22,736 or 15.9 per minute. The Haṁsa Up. (iv.), as Deussen has pointed out, puts the number at 21,606; the Sarva Darçana (page 175), at 21,600, and Rāmatīrtha in his notes to Māitri Up. vi. 1, at 21,000. For a fanciful theory of the numbers of *prāṇas* and *anas*, cf. ÇB. xii. 3. 2. 5. All these numbers are approximately accurate. It is probable that one or more of these numbers were ascertained by actual count. A Hindu Saṁnyāsin would think his time well spent in counting the number of his respirations. On the other hand, some of these totals have the appearance of having been made up to suit some theory as to how many there ought to be.

It is important to compare here Māitri Up. vi. 1. There *prāṇa* and the sun[1] are called the inner and outer (*antar bahiç ca*) paths of the Supreme Ātman. They are both said to revolve in a day and a night and the one is measured by the other. Now from the fact that the measurements are given in stanza 33, it seems certain that in stanza 32 *bāhyaprāṇa* means the sun and that, therefore, Māitri Up. vi. 1 ff. and the present passage deal with the same subject.

The first half of stanza 32 is somewhat obscure. Probably the statement is intended to apply to distance from the navel to the mouth. Thirty thumbs-breadths is an approximately accurate measurement of this distance. The navel is looked upon as the

[1] The Stoics taught a divine Pneuma (*prāṇa*) in the sun. Windelband, *Hist. of Phil.*, p. 39.

centre from which the breath divides to go upward or downward, and it is definitely represented as the place of the breath, cf. Kṣurika Up. 7. Since the breath movements are to be numbered in the following stanza (33), it is not very surprising that the exuberant fancy of a Hindu writer should think of the distance which, according to his idea of the starting point, breath travels at each inhalation and exhalation. Deussen adopts the emendation of the Telugu edition and reads the line, "*triṅçadvarddhāṅgulih prāṇo yatra prāṇāih pratiṣṭhitaḥ*, etc." This does not seem to be necessary, nor is the meaning as satisfactory as may appear at first sight. On the other hand, the heart is said to be the knot (*granthi*) of the *prāṇas*,[1] cf. TĀ. x. 37, 1, Gobhila Gṛh. Sūtra ii. 10, 28. For the relation between the heart and the *prāṇas*, cf. also ÇB. iii. 8. 3. 15; Ch. Up. iii. 12; Muṇḍ. Up. ii. 1. 8; Çiras Up. iii. (=Brahma Up. ii.); Amṛtabindu Up. 34; Bṛh. Ār. iv. 4. 1; Māitri Up. ii. 6.

On the other hand, the heart-cavity (*guha*) is said again and again to be the dwelling place of the Ātman or Puruṣa, variously described, cf. Kaṭha Up. ii. 20; iii. 1; v. 3; vi. 17; Ch. Up. viii. 3. 3; Māitri Up. vi. 34; vii. 7; Bṛh. Ār. Up. v. 8. 1; ii. 1. 17; Tāitt. Up. i. 6. 1; Ch. Up. iii. 14. 3.

But if the heart is meant, where, according to Deussen, the *prāṇa* dwells with the *prāṇas*, the measurement given, viz: "Dreissig Mannsfinger breit Raum ist, etc.," is entirely too large. Though the text we have used and the translation we have given are full of difficulties, yet they yield results suited to the context. It may be noted that Deussen has not appreciated the reference to the sun in the second half of the stanza.

34–35. (a) The preceding stanzas are preliminary; it is here that we find a definite attempt to explain the Prāṇa-Series:

prāṇa ādyo hṛdi sthāne apānas tu punar gude,
samāno nābhideçe tu udānaḥ kaṇṭham āçritaḥ.
vyānaḥ sarveṣu cā'ṅgeṣu sadā vyāvṛtya tiṣṭhati.

"*Prāṇa* has its location in the heart. *Apāna* is located in the lower bowel. *Samāna* is located in the navel-region. *Udāna* abides in (or has recourse to) the throat. *Vyāna*, divided up, (*vyāvṛtya*) abides always in all the members."

[1] Compare the doctrine of the Stoics that seven pneumata (*prāṇas*) extend out from the heart like the arms of a polyp. The seven are made up of the five senses, the faculty of speech and the organ of procreation. Ibid., p. 189.

The writer makes his position clear as far as it goes.

1. In locating *prāṇa* in the heart he follows the oft-repeated assertion that the heart is the home of the *prāṇa* and the *prāṇas*.

2. In his opinion as to *apāna* he agrees in part with Māitri Up. ii. 6. He describes *apāna* as in the lower bowel, but does not identify it therewith.

3. The "navel-region" is a term broad enough to include the place of digestion. In locating *samāna* therein, our author is not necessarily out of agreement with the writer of Māitri Up. ii. 6. The definition, however, looks especially towards ÇB. viii. 3. 1. 6 and 10, where *samāna* is identified with the navel region.

4. The location of *udāna* in the throat is a corroboration of the interpretation given in the Māitri passage. In eructation the sensation is of breath ascending to the throat and returning to the stomach. In this we have the empiric starting point of the view which, as further developed, locates *udāna* in the Suṣumṇā or great artery, and assumes that it is the breath which carries the soul to the crown of the head in the true Yogin state—in fact identifies it (*udāna*) with the artery by which the soul departs from the body at death, i. e. with the Suṣumṇā.

5. The explanation of *vyāna* keeps in mind the prefix *vi*. The same prefix is used in the accompanying gerund, *vyāvṛtya*, and the assertion that *vi-āna* is in all members is made in allusion to *vi* as meaning "apart," "asunder," etc.

This definition illumines the statement in Māitri ii. 6, that *samāna* is the *uttara* form of *vyāna*. Since *vyāna* is in all the members and *samāna* apportions food to all the members, the latter may be fittingly called the superior form of the former.

Stanzas 35b–37 describe the colors of these *prāṇas*. The whole is too fanciful to merit our attention at this time.

Praçna Upaniṣad iii.

This section contains the most complete attempt of Hindu literature to define the members of the Prāṇa-Series. The five *prāṇas* are explained both microcosmically and macrocosmically.

The section begins with five questions as to *Prāṇa*, which is here the aggregate of the life-functions, viewed as a separate entity, distinct from the body—in other words, the Soul.

1. Whence does this *Prāṇa* arise?

2. How does it come into the body?

3. Having divided itself, how is it located? Read *prātiṣṭhate* for *pratiṣṭhate*, cf. PW.

4. By what does it go out (*utkramate*)?

5. How is it to be explained (*abhidhatte*) with reference (a) to the external world (*bāhyam*), and (b) to the individual organism (*adhyātmam*)?

The replies given are as follows:

(1) It is produced (*jāyate*) from Ātman. "As the shadow in man, the one in the other is diffused"—*yathāi 'ṣā puruṣe chāyāi 'tasminn etad ātatam.*

(2) It comes into the body apart from the activity of the mind or will (*mano 'kṛtena*)—literally, "By means of a non-acting *manas*." Çaṅkara in his interpretation neglects the *a* before *kṛtena* and so attributes the coming of the *Prāṇa* into the body as the result of works done through *manas*, cf. Deussen *in loco.*

(3) In the answer to the third question, the Prāṇa-Series is directly dealt with. The reply begins with the declaration that as a king stations his subordinates in one town and another, each separately, so *Prāṇa* assigns to the various members of the Series their separate places in the body, as follows:

(a) *Prāṇa* assigns *apāna* to the anus and sexual organ—*pāyūpasthe 'pānam prātiṣṭhate.*

(b) It assigns itself—*svayam*—to eye and ear along with (or, from) mouth and nostrils—*cakṣuḥçrotre mukhanāsikābhyām.*

(c) *Samāna*, however, is in the middle—*madhye tu samānaḥ.* This it is that leads to homogeneity—"*samannayati*"—the offered food—*hutam annam.* From that (i. e. food), these seven flames arise, cf. the seven "*jihvāḥ*" or "*homāḥ*" of Mahānār. Up. x. 2; and Muṇḍ. Up. ii. 1. 8. Are the five senses, speech and procreation referred to?

(d) *Vyāna* functions—*carati*—in the 101 veins (*nāḍī*) whose location is in the heart where the Ātman is. These veins are each divided into 100 parts and these again into 72,000 parts each (ib. 6).

In this passage, we have both a combination of Ch. Up. viii. 6. 6 (101 veins[1]) and Bṛh. Ār. Up. ii. 1. 19 (72,000 veins called

[1] For other literature in re the Hitās or Nāḍīs, cf. Kāuṣ. Up., iv. 19; Āit. Up. ii. 1. 6; Ch. Up. viii. 6. 1-6; Bṛh. Ār. Up., iv. 2. 3; iv. 3. 20; Muṇḍ. Up. ii. 2. 6; Brahmavidyā Up. xii.; Kṣur. Up. 8, 9, 17, etc.; Mahānār. Up. xi. 8; Kaṭha Up. vi. 16; ÇB. i. 4. 1. 24; iv. 1. 2. 3; iv. 3. 1. 23; iv. 4. 1. 1; vii. 5. 1. 21.

"*hitāḥ*") and a still further fanciful division into the extreme of number and minuteness. The whole number becomes 727, 210, 201.

In Brahmavidyā Up. xii., 72,000 veins are apparently merged into the Suṣumṇā. Such a conception is the counterpart and possibly the original of the scheme which divides each by 72,000.

(e) *Udāna* is the one which (goes) upward, and by means of good leads to a good world, by evil to an evil world; by (a combination of) the two to the world of man. With reference to these replies, the following points are to be observed:

1. *Apāna* is described essentially as in Māitri Up. ii. 6.

2. *Prāṇa* is used in two senses, neither of which corresponds to its use in the passages already considered. The *Prāṇa*, which is the main subject of the chapter, is a synonym of Brahman, and recalls the Prajāpati-Vāyu of Māitri Up. ii. 6, which divided itself up into the five members of the Prāṇa-Series.

Again, the *prāṇa* as assigned to its place in the body is a conception very different from the simple breath-activity found in previous explanations. In fact our author in having *prāṇa* assigned by *Prāṇa*, passes over from the Prāṇa-Series as such to a conception which belongs elsewhere. The assignment of *prāṇa* is clearly to the seven "openings in the head" which we shall find again and again referred to as "the seven *prāṇas*." Since the *prāṇas* are all manifestations of the central *Prāṇa*, they are described as a unit. This gives an appearance of consistency to the writer's treatment of the series of five. It is not possible to say positively whether the dual for mouth-nostrils is an instrumental or an ablative. If the latter, we may recognize here an interesting anatomical reference to the Eustachian tubes and lachrymal ducts. More probably, however, we have here the instrumental of accompaniment and, as already intimated, a definite allusion to the "seven *prāṇas* in the head."

3. *Samāna* is very much as in Māitri Up. ii. 6. The point of the argument is a play on the words *samāna* and *sama*, the latter being the form used with the root $\sqrt{nī}$ to form the *samannayati*.

4. In the explanation of *vyāna*, the statement of Amṛtabindu Up. that *vyāna* abides always in all the members of the body, receives a further and entirely fanciful development. The innumerable divisions of the veins, in which *vyāna* functions, is another way of saying that *vyāna* is in every fibre of the body.

5. The presentation of *udāna* is unique and difficult. A clue to the understanding of the author's meaning is, we think, to be found by recalling what is taught regarding the great vein Suṣumṇā, which is said to extend from the heart to the crown of the head. In the complete concentration inculcated by the Yoga philosophy, the soul is theoretically made to ascend by this passage-way until it reaches the crown of the head or a point between the eyebrows; cf. Dhyānabindu Up. 13–23, and Nādabindu Up. iv. By this same great vein the soul ascends and passes out at death; cf. Kṣur. Up.; Māitri Up. vi. 21; Āit. Up. i. 3, 12; Kaṭha Up. vi. 5. We have seen above (Amṛtab. and Māitri Ups.) that *udāna* is the breath of eructation and is located in the throat. This gives us the conception of a breath that ascends (*ud*) and prepares the way for what we have here. If any one of the five breaths is to be conceived of as functioning in the Suṣumṇā, the prefix *ud* of *udāna* would be sufficient to determine that the choice should fall upon it. We already have *udāna* extending as far as the neck, and further Hindu fancy did not find it difficult to take another step and completely identify *udāna* and Suṣumṇā. It may be that we have the basis of the conception in AV. xi. 9, 21, where the *prāṇa* is said to escape upwards in the article of death. This need not, however, be pressed.

6. The description of *udāna*, given above, is in answer to the fourth question, "By what does it (the *Prāṇa*) go out?"

The fifth question is answered in part by the reply given to the third query, since said reply tells how *Prāṇa* functions in the individual organism; cf. Question 5.

Later, however, the fifth question is systematically answered by a statement of cosmic correlates of each of the five breaths.

(a) The sun rises as the external *Prāṇa* (*bāhyaḥ prāṇaḥ*, cf. Amṛtab. Up. 32), supporting that *prāṇa* in the eye.[1]

(b) The divinity which is in the earth is the one which supports, *avaṣṭabhya*, the *apāna* of man.

(c) *Samāna* is the space, *ākāça*, between (sun and earth).

(d) *Vyāna* is Vāyu.

(e) *Udāna* is the fire-element (*tejas*). "By it (*udāna*) a man becomes one whose fire-element is extinguished, i. e. dies—*tasmād*

[1] So conceived because in seeing, as in other psychical acts, the Supreme Prāṇa is the active agent and so can be said to dwell in the eye. This conception is accentuated by the wonderful character of the eye. The "Man in the eye" figures largely in Hindu thought.

upaçāntatejāḥ. Whatever thought (determination) is re-born along with (or by) the fusing of the senses into the organ of intellect (*manas*)—by it he goes to *prāṇa. Prāṇa*, united with the fire-element, (and) accompanied by Ātman leads to the predetermined world."

These statements of correlation are full of interest.

1. The connection between the sun and the eye-*prāṇa* is a correlation which from its frequency may be called formative and structural. The number of allusions which rest upon the conception that the eye is to the body what the sun is to the universe, is very large. The myth of the Heavenly Eye-ball crystallizes this conception in an interesting way. First the sun and the eye are correlated. Again, since the sun is but one form of the heavenly light of which lightning is another, the eye and lightning are correlated, VS. xxv. 1, 2. The third step is to posit an eye and an eye-ball to the sun or to the lightning. A still further step leads to the myth proper, according to which the eye and the eye-ball of the sun and lightning, or of anthropomorphic divinities substituted for them, are described as descending to the earth and becoming various useful and pleasing objects. Plants especially are identified with this heavenly eye-ball; cf. Bloomfield's "Interpretation of the Veda," Seventh Series, AJP. xvii., No. 4, p. 399 ff.

In this connection one can scarcely avoid recalling the genetic series of ÇB., ix. 3. 3. 15—lightning, rain plants—and the many similar statements to the same effect in other passages.

2. Since *apāna* has been located by *Prāṇa* in the anus and scrotum, "Divinity in the earth" is probably not Agni as might readily be assumed, but the expression is rather intended to describe the earth herself as personified; cf. RV. v. 84, and AV. xii. 1.

The main question is how the Earth-Divinity sustains (or, seizes—$\sqrt{stabh}$ with *ava* may mean either) the *apāna* of man. Do we not have here a reference to the simple every-day phenomenon according to which the earth both receives and absorbs both excrement and urine? Since by means of *apāna*, located in anus and scrotum, they are voided upon the earth, therefore the two are correlated; cf. ÇB. vi. 7. 1. 11; ĀB. ii. 6 (end); ÇB. x. 1. 1. 11.

3. The identification of *samāna* and *ākāça* (here as *antarikṣam*) is, from the cosmic standpoint, quite in harmony with the

location of the microcosmic *samāna* in the middle part or navel region of the body.

4. *Vyāna* as *Vāyu* also fits in well with the above noted definitions which emphasize the pervasiveness of *vyāna*.

The correlation has also the further advantage, dear to the Hindu author's ear, of being based upon a pun, *vāy* and *vyā*.

5. The correlation of *udāna* and *tejas* is unique and the explanation which follows it is obscure, at least when considered alone. Brief as it is, the explanation bristles with important allusions to structural conceptions.

The starting-point for an adequate interpretation of the passage is the fact that *udāna* (in the individual organism—*adhyātmam*) moves in the vein (*nāḍī*) which goes upward, i. e. the Suṣumṇā? Now psychical activity (*prāṇa*, cf. below) is a fire-element (*tejomātrā*). In Bṛh. Ār. Up. iv. 4. 1, the Çārīra Ātman is said to seize the *prāṇas* or fire-elements (*tejomātrāḥ*) and move down along to the heart—*hṛdayam evā 'nvavakrāmati*.

Further in Kāuṣ. Up. ii. 12, each psychical activity is said to be a form in which the Brahman flames up in the individual. Each activity is, therefore, a composite of *prāṇa* and *tejas*. When the said flame dies down, the *prāṇa*-element thereof goes into *Prāṇa* and the *tejas*-element passes into the psychical organ next in order of extinguishment. The whole statement may be summarized, as follows:

The *tejas* of speech goes to the eye; its *prāṇa* to Prāṇa.

The *tejas* of the eye goes to the ear; its *prāṇa* to Prāṇa.

The *tejas* of the ear goes to the *manas;* its *prāṇa* to Prāṇa.

The *tejas* of the *manas* goes to the Prāṇa; its *prāṇa* to Prāṇa.

Note that the net result is Prāṇa. This is a description of what takes place at death. Similar descriptions with other arrangements of the organs are frequently met with; cf. Speech, *manas*, *prāṇa* and *tejas:* Ch. Up. vi. 8. 6; iv. 3. 3; Bṛh. Up. iii. 2. 13.

It is entirely clear that our author in his treatment of *udāna* is dealing with what takes place at death. At that time the fire-elements are all extinguished and only Prāṇa abides, i. e. the Supreme Prāṇa which is the main subject of the chapter. It is not to be forgotten, however, that we are dealing with the cosmical Tejas in the answer to question 5.

There are two alternatives here. Either the author has forgotten his assumed point of view and is now discussing a correla-

tion restricted to the individual organism; or he means to imply that the Tejas of each organ is a cosmic product. The latter alternative is manifestly the more probable. Doubtless the Tejas with which *udāna* is correlated is the Agni-Brahman which flames up in each organ of psychical activity, cf. again Kāuṣ. Up. ii. 12. *Udāna* is, then, the cosmical Tejas in the sense that it absorbs the fire-elements as they appear in the separate psychical organ. There is here a two-fold identification of *udāna.* On the one hand, it is equivalent to the microcosmical *prāṇa* of Kāuṣ. Up. ii. 12, since into it are fused the fire-elements of the other organs. On the other hand, having absorbed the various fire-elements, it is said to be equivalent to that which it has absorbed, viz :—Tejas. A third identification of *udāna* has already been noted above, i. e. with the Suṣumṇā.

Beginning with *udāna* (above, *e*), a review of the death-process is given. The senses fuse into *manas.* This fusion leads to the formation (manner not explained) of a determining thought (*citta*),[1] which passes on into *prāṇa. Prāṇa* is now everything. The fire-elements of all the psychical organs are contained in it, and so it departs (by the *udāna*-Suṣumṇā), having the Ātman along (cf. Bṛh. Ār. Up. iv. 4. 3), one being as the shadow of the other (cf. answer to question 1)—thus going to the condition pre-determined by the "composite" thought, which forms itself in the mind when the senses are fused therein.

Praçna Up. iv. 3 and 4.

The Prāṇa-Series is here presented under a correlation which may fittingly be called *adhiyajñam*, i. e. "with reference to the sacrifice." Five questions begin the chapter.

(a) What (*kāni*) sleep in man?
(b) What (*kāni*) remain awake?
(c) Whose is that pleasure (*sukham*)?
(d) What god sees them sleeping?
(e) In whom are they all grounded (*sampratiṣṭhitāḥ*)?

The answers in brief are as follows:

(a) The ten organs of action—doubtless *karmāṇi* with *kāni.*
(b) The *prāṇa*-fires—*prāṇāgnayaḥ.*
(c) Manas.

[1] ÇB. vii. 1. 1. 24, the *prāṇas* are said to be the inspirers of all thoughts.

(d) The *manas* of the Vijñānātman Puruṣa.

(e) The highest Ātman.

In connection with the second answer three members of the Prāṇa-Series are correlated with the sacrificial fires (cf. ÇB. vii. 1. 2. 21), and the other two are forcibly brought into line with the sacrifice. *Apāna* is the Gārhapatya Fire, i. e. western. *Vyāna* is the Anvāhāryapacana Fire, i. e. southern. Prāṇa is the Āhavanīya Fire, i. e. eastern. To this simple correlation, definitions of *samāna* and *udāna* are added:

1. *Samāna* leads to homogeneity—*samaṁ nayati*—the two oblations, exhalation and inhalation, i. e. *ucchvāsaniçvāsāu.* The verb form is again new. We have already had *samānayati* and *samannayati.*

2. *Udāna* is the fruit of the sacrifice—*iṣṭaphalam.* It conveys the sacrificer (= Manas) to Brahman day by day.

Points of importance for our investigation are:

(a) The pun on *samāna* by using *samam* with *nayati.* Here it is the breath movements, not food, which are assimilated. It is a dominant Upaniṣad doctrine that the true sage performs the Agnihotra sacrifice when he accompanies the eating of food with the recital of Mantras to the various *prāṇas* cf. Prāṇāg. Up.; Ch. Up. v. 19–24, etc. Here it suits the purpose of the writer to leave the matter of food out of sight. He merely hints at, rather than states, the important doctrine just referred to. He is occupied with correlating the main facts of the actual sacrifice with the Prāṇa-Series. As the Prāṇa-Series belongs to the animal organism, he seeks for psychical functions which will correspond to the two oblations and finds them in the two main breath movements.

(b) A further hint towards the identification of *udāna* and Suṣumṇā. Day by day Manas, which is here the Vijñānātman Puruṣa, passes out by *udāna* and returns again. It is the "fruit of the sacrifice" by means of which the sacrificer reaches Brahman. This is the assumption which has to be manipulated into line with the Prāṇa-Series. In Bṛh. Ār. Up. iv. 3. 13, the Puruṣa= Ātman (= Manas here), is said to leave the body and roam about, *prāṇa* being left in charge during its absence. Some such conception controls the application of the Prāṇa-Series to the sacrifice. The great vein by which the Manas ascends performs the same office for the soul of the sage as the *iṣṭaphalam* does for the performer of the ritual sacrifice, hence *udāna* is the *iṣṭaphalam.*

(c) The correlation of *apāna*, *vyāna* and *prāṇa* with the West, South and East respectively, is in line with their usual arrangement in other parts of the literature; cf. below.

The Prāṇa-Series and the Points of the Compass.

The following passages, though furnishing no attempt at an explanation of the proper significance of the various terms, are yet of value as illustrating an interesting symbolic use of the members of the Series.

Ch. Up. iii. 13.

prāṇa. *vyāna.* *apāna.* *samāna.*
East (*prāñ*), South (*dakṣiṇaḥ*), West (*pratyañ*), North (*udañ*),
udāna.
Upper (*ūrdhvaḥ*).

This section contains also a series of both psychical and cosmical entities, which are correlated with the five names. They belong to a later phase of our subject; the correlations given above are manifestly symbolical. The pun between *prāṇa* and *prāñ* furnishes the starting point, and the others are made to fall in line. It is rather surprising to find that *udāna* and *udañ* are *not* correlated.

Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra i. 16. 9-15.

Shortly after a son has been born, five Brahmans sit down around him. Then to each one in turn the father says, *imam anuprāṇita.* In obedience to this injunction they speak in turn, as follows:

The one on the east says "Prāṇa." The one on the south says "Vyāna." The one on the west says "Apāna." The one on the north says "Udāna." The fifth, looking up, says "Samāna."

Here, as we should expect, *udāna* and *udañ* are correlated.

ÇB. xi. 8. 3. 6.

Here the various directions (*diças*) are represented as putting their corresponding vital breath into the dead sacrificial victim:

The eastern quarter puts in the *prāṇa.*
The southern quarter puts in the *vyāna.*
The western quarter puts in the *apāna.*
The northern quarter puts in the *udāna.*
The upper (zenith) quarter puts in the *samāna.*

Each quarter is represented as giving first a command in which the imperative mood of each member of the Prāṇa-Series is in turn used, e. g. *tam prācī dik prāṇe 'ty anuprāṇat prāṇam evā 'smiṅs tad adadhāt.* Note that in this same passage, the ceremony described in Pār. Gṛh. Sūtra i. 16. 9-15, is said to take place before the umbilicus is cut.

Upaniṣad Definition of Single Members of the Prāṇa-Series.

The above attempts at explanation have dealt with the entire series of names. There are, however, a few references in which single members of the Prāṇa-Series are more or less specifically defined.

APĀNA.

1. In Māitri Up. ii. 6, *apāna* is defined so as to mean the intestine.

2. In Garbha Up. i., it is said to be used in evacuation (*utsarge*).

3. The following stanza occurs in Saṁnyāsa Up. 2(5).:

vṛṣaṇāpānayor madhye pāṇī āsthāya saṁçrayet,
saṁdaçya daçanāir (or, *çanakair*) *jihvāṁ yavamātre vinirgatām.*

The context deals with the phenomenon of death. At such a time and, indeed at any time it is natural that the hands when folded should rest between the scrotum and the navel. *Apāna,* therefore, probably means "the navel" here, and not the anus as in the former references. The writer is possibly referring back to a passage now to be noted.

3. Āit. Up. i. 1 and 2. *Apāna* is used here twice. The subject is creation by the Supreme Ātman. The two sections describe respectively, (a) The formation of the psychical organs (called "world-protectors"—*lokapālāḥ*) by the application of heat to a primeval man, taken out of the waters. (b) The entrance of each separate organ into man.

The assertion of the first section in which we are interested is that after the navel had burst forth (*nirabhidyata*), *apāna* burst forth from the navel and from *apāna,* death.

In the description of the reverse of the process, death becoming *apāna,* is said to enter the navel. Now it is by no means easy to understand what point of view is assumed in making death the cosmical counterpart of *apāna.* The other correlations of the passage, viz: Speech and fire; breath and wind; eyes and sun; ears and quarters; hairs and shrubbery, etc.; *manas* (from

heart and) moon: organ of generation from (semen and) waters: —are more or less familiar, but this is unique.

One can but suspect that the empiric basis of this correlation is found in certain of the phenomena of death. It is well known, at least to the medical profession, that the approach of death is heralded by rapid abdominal breathing after the chest muscles have ceased to act. The Hindus, inveterate observers as they were, could not have failed to note this phenomenon, and it is quite in keeping with their method that some one should have inferred therefrom that some connection exists between death and the navel region.

Again, in the final moment, the last gasp is a breathing-out, in other words an *apāna* movement, for such is the dominant meaning of the word (cf. below). After the last gasp the abdomen, which a little before was moving rapidly, becomes still. Death has come, and the evidence of his arrival was a final *apāna*, i. e. the expulsion of breath from the navel-region. It seems probable that it was by some such steps that death, *apāna*, and the navel were connected.

4. Āit. Up. i. 3. When the Ātman created food, each psychical organ in turn, viz: Speech, *prāṇa*, eye, ear, skin, *manas*, organ of generation and *apāna*, strove to seize it. *Apāna* alone succeeded, hence it is called the "seizer of food" (*annasya grahaḥ*). The mention of *apāna* after the organ of generation suggests that *apāna* refers to the breath in the lower intestine and not to the navel. But even so, this does not seem to adequately cover the conception found in the phrase "seizer of food." It may be that *apāna* here refers not only to the breath as carrying away the rejected parts of food, but includes the activity of breath in the digestion of food as well. This suggestion makes *apāna* include both *samāna* and *apāna* of Māitri Up. ii. 6. Deussen's suggestion that *apāna* means "Princip der Verdauung" interprets the conception in part, but it does not take note of the probability that *apāna* as scrotum or as breath in the lower bowel gives the clue to an understanding of the author's point of view (cf. below).

It may be noted that in Pāras. Gṛh. Sūtra i. 19. 4, *prāṇa* is said to attain food, and *apāna* to attain scent. The question of *apāna* and scent, the importance of which is seen in its bearing upon the proper translation of *prāṇa* and *apāna*, will be discussed later.

VYĀNA.

Ch. Up. i. 3. 3 and 5.

In these references, *vyāna* is described as the connecting link or factor (*saṁdhi*) between *prāṇa* and *apāna*. As such, it is identified with speech, for "while one is speaking there is neither in-breathing nor out-breathing." This description tallies with the literal meaning of the word *vyāna*, i. e. "breathing apart." There is, so this author thinks, no movement of breath while words are being uttered, but merely a use of an abiding breath which supplies the basis for *prāṇa* and *apāna;* cf. Kāuṣ. Up. ii. 5.

Section 5 refers to other actions which are performed without *prāṇa* or *apāna* and, therefore, with *vyāna*. The actions named are: The production of fire by the churning-sticks, i. e. friction; running a race; and the stringing of a strong bow. It is difficult to understand how a race could be run without *prāṇa* and *apāna*. The allusion is doubtless to the final sudden spurt of a race. The above is a most interesting instance of acute observation. An occidental observer never stops to notice that in lifting a weight all breath action is held in abeyance. The Hindu, noticing it, has even given it a name. *Vyāna* is, therefore, the breath that permanently pervades the body (cf. Amṛtab. Up. 35), and continues when there is no breath-movement to or from the lungs.

Résumé of Hindu Attempts to Explain the Prāṇa-Series.

1. *Prāṇa* is the breath which moves upward from the navel or heart and includes both in-breathing and out-breathing. It is found in all the seven apertures of the head.

2. *Apāna* is a term of varying signification. It means

(1) The breath in the anus and scrotum. (2) The lower intestine. (3) The navel. (4) The "seizer of food," including both digestion and the carrying away of excrement.

3. *Vyāna* is the breath which pervades the members of the body, and in which *prāṇa* and *apāna* inhere.

4. *Udāna* is in part etymologically interpreted and refers

(1) To eructation. (2) To the breath which carries the soul up to the skull in the state of Samādhi, and on out in death. It is not only supposed to move in a great vein which extends from the centre of the body to the top of the head, but is identified with this vein.

5. *Samāna* is located in the abdomen and is said to bring about the digestion of food.

CHAPTER III.

Interpretation of the Prāṇa-Series.

An adequate interpretation of the Prāṇa-Series as a whole, or the individual members thereof, involves a review of the whole mass of material (Chap. i., B.), and a careful scrutiny of all the important references. Such an investigation will not only bring out the origin and value of the explanations given by Hindu writers (cf. Chap. ii.), but should also throw light upon the empiric origin and formulaic development of the series of names—thus leading to an insight into the question of translation as will serve to bring some degree of order into the confusion which now exists (cf. Chap. i., A.).

The purpose, thus outlined, may best he accomplished by a separate treatment of the various strata of literary deposit.

I. The Prāṇa-Series in the Vedas.

A. The Rig-Veda; cf. Introductory Chapter.

In the Rig-Veda, *prāṇa* means simply "breath," the prefix having no directional value. In the single passage where the participle of $\sqrt{an}$ with *apa* is accompanied by the ablative of *prāṇa* (RV. x. 189. 2), nothing very definite as to the force of *apa* can be determined. It would seem, however, that the participle makes the compound mean "breathing off or forth." In any case the directional force, whatever it is, is not in *pra*, but in *apa*.

B. The Atharva-Veda.

The AV. frequently uses *prāṇa* and *apāna* together, usually as a copulative compound. *Prāṇa* alone means the vital act of breathing and it may, therefore, be assumed that in the compound *prāṇāpānāu*, *prāṇa* refers to that which is distinctively the vital act. That this is inhalation is at once axiomatic and scientific; and, therefore, the strongest probability of correctness attaches to the usual translation of the compound as "in-breathing and out-breathing." If the process of breathing be divided, the two movements just described will be the result. They fittingly form a dual compound, for they are a pair of constant value.

Wherever, from Veda to Sūtra, this compound occurs, it has the meaning given above. Any modifications which have occurred were only possible after the compound was divided. Not that "*prāṇa* and *apāna*," in the beginning or as a usual thing, meant anything different from *prāṇāpānāu*. The two forms stand side by side and are of equal value; cf. AV. vii. 53. 2–6, etc. At the same time, when the two words were released from the close relationship of dual compound, the way was open for modifications of meaning to take place. There was nothing to hinder *prāṇa* from again becoming an inclusive term for both the simple breath movements, while *apāna* was thus free to take on special meanings. AV. xiii. 3. 4, may indicate something of this kind:

yaḥ prāṇena dyāvāpṛthivī tarpayaty apānena samudrasya jaṭharaṁ yaḥ piparti, "Who with his *prāṇa* satisfies heaven and earth, and who with his *apāna* fills the belly of the ocean."

The hymn is to Rohita and describes the sun. One cannot be sure as to the direction in which the poet's fancy leads, and yet it seems probable that the line contains a hint at some definite conception of *apāna* as the downward moving breath. The idea of *apāna* as the breath which goes downward from the navel-region would not be incongruous here.

Twice in AV. xi. 4, the verbs $\sqrt{an}$ with *pra*, and $\sqrt{an}$ with *apa* are used side by side; cf. stanzas 8 and 14. In both cases the words seem to correspond precisely to the nouns as regards distinction of meaning. In describing the breathing of the embryo in the mother's womb, the usual order of the words is reversed and we have, *apāniti*, *prāṇiti*. This order may be intended to give expression to the fancy that the natural cycle of breath processes in the embryo is the reverse of what it is in all creatures which have come to birth.

In the translation of *vyāna* the AV. gives no assistance. In v. 4. 7, it occurs with *prāṇa* and the eye, just as in other stanzas *prāṇa-apāna*, eye, etc., are named. The line reads: "Be gracious unto my *prāṇa* and to my *vyāna* and to this eye of mine."

Again in AV. v. 2. 2, the participle of $\sqrt{an}$ with *vi* occurs both in its positive and negative forms, viz:—*avyanac ca vyanac ca*. The reference is to all creatures and the meaning is about equal to "inanimate and animate." The question which arises in these passages is whether *vyāna* has special significance, or is merely equal to *apāna* in the first reference, and whether in the

second the participles are equivalent oaly to *aprāṇat* and *prāṇat.* The latter seems the more probable opinion. At the same time, it is likely that these passages furnish the basis for the definition of *vyāna* in Ch. Up. i. 3. 3 and 5, where *vyāna* is the breath which pervades the body apart from the two main breath movements. Such a meaning could be applied in both these passages. *Vyāna* occurs also in an obscure passage, i. e. AV. xiv. 1. 12 (cf. RV. x. 85. 12). The interpretation of the stanza is yet to be satisfactorily made. It will only be necessary here to quote the stanza and to note that, whatever be its interpretation, *vyāna* as therein used sheds its light on the meaning of the word in the Prāṇa-Series:

çucī te cakre yātyā vyāno akṣa āhataḥ
ano manasmayaṁ sūryā 'rohat prayatī patim.

If Sāyaṇa is right in assuming that the axle of the chariot is wind (Vāyu), then *vyāna* means "wind," and the reason for the poet's choice is to be found in the fact that *vyāna* is a pun both upon *vāyu* and *anas.*

Samāna occurs but once and sounds no note of distinct definition; it is purely formulaic.

Udāna occurs twice and in both cases is a member of the compound *vyānopānāu,* made after the analogy of *prāṇāpānāu.* This indicates that the breath names have already become crystallized into formulas. and formulas yield no valuable secrets of the kind we are searching for.

The verb $\sqrt{an}$ with *ud* is found in AV. iii. 13. 5, in the form *udāniṣuḥ.* The mighty ones are said to have "breathed up." The mighty ones are the waters and the breathing up occurs when Indra sets his feet upon them. Can there be here a reference to the tides?

C. The Yajur-Veda.

All the references are manifestly formulaic and contribute nothing to our purpose. The birds-eye view of the material given in the first chapter, B, above, tells the whole story.

II. The Prāṇa-Series in the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

A striking feature of the ÇB. material, a summary of which has already been given, is the entire disappearance of *prāṇāpānāu.* The use of *prāṇa* and *apāna* is, moreover, very infrequent. We

have noted but seven occurrences; only three of the seven being in the first ten books.

The place of the dual compound *prāṇāpānāu* is taken by *prāṇodānāu*, which occurs forty-one times. Again, when three members of the Series are mentioned, two of which are *prāṇa* and *vyāna*, the third is not *apāna*, as our experience of all the other literature would lead us to expect, but *udāna* instead. Not that the ordinary triplet does not occur. We have, in fact, noted six instances thereof; but they are all quotations from the Vāj. Saṁh.

These facts invite the conclusion that, from the view-point of ÇB., *apāna* as "out-breathing" has surrendered its place to *udāna*. With reference to this change, it may be suggested that of the two words, *apāna* and *udāna*, the latter, etymologically considered, was looked upon as better fitted to describe—the process of "out-breathing." Both words were already in existence; the interests of definiteness suggested that a choice should be made, and therefore the latter was chosen. By means of this surrender of place, the way was opened for *apāna* to be given a new meaning such as we have already pointed out as found in the Upaniṣads, viz:—the breath which moves downward from the middle of the body into the anus and sexual organ. Indeed the change we are considering may have been motived by this conception. It may be more accurate to say that *apāna* was coming to be wanted for a new purpose and, therefore, the field was given to *udāna*. The building of the Fire-altar, which was conceived of as a living creature, led to a mode of representation which at least looked towards a new use of *apāna*. As *prāṇa* connotes "life," there must be *prāṇas* in every part of the creature-like Fire-altar which was built up by the priests in connection with an elaborate ritual. Hence in ÇB. viii. 1. 3. 6, there is said to be one *prāṇa* in front (*purastāt*), another behind (*paçcāt*), another to the right (*dakṣiṇatas*), another to the left (*uttaratas*), and another in the middle (*madhye*). The names of these in their order are: *prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna*, and *samāna*.

Sections 8 and 9 go on to describe the laying of the bricks. *Prāṇa* in front is connected with *apāna* by laying the rear or western bricks immediately after the front or eastern ones. In the same way *vyāna* and *udāna* are connected by laying the bricks of the left or north immediately after those of the right or south. Further, in section 10 the *prāṇa* which is put in

the middle is called the intestinal breath (*gudaḥ*[1] *prāṇaḥ*). It is said to be placed round the navel lengthwise and crosswise, since the body breaths are in touch with each other lengthwise and crosswise.

This description in which *apāna* is clearly identified with *paçcāt prāṇa*, when combined with ÇB. iii. 8. 2. 6, where the anus is plainly called *paçcāt prāṇa*, accounts for the identification of *apāna* and the anus in Māitri Up. ii. 6; Amṛtab. Up. 34; and Praçna Up. iii. When the sacrifice is personified as a human being, the name *avāñ prāṇa* takes the place of *paçcāt prāṇa*. The change is due to the observation that the passage from mouth to anus follows a downward course, while in birds and beasts it is on the whole horizontal. Just as breath moves up and out by the mouth, so also does it move downward and out by the anus and scrotum. In ÇB. vii. 1. 2. 15, we find the following statement:

Prajātir eva yad ete 'vāñcaḥ prāṇā yad dhi mūtraṁ karoti yat purīṣam prai 'va taj jāyate.

"A procreation indeed are these downward breaths. Whatever urine or faeces he makes, it is they that produce them."

In ÇB. xii. 1. 4. 3; xii. 2. 4. 16; and xii. 3. 1. 8, these two downward breaths are called *go* and *āyus*. Doubtless *āyus*, i. e. "life," refers to the organ of procreation; and *go*, which may mean "earth," to the organ of evacuation. Again, in ÇB. i. 4. 3. 8, two breaths are said to go upward and two downward from the central breath. We shall have occasion to note later that of the nine *prāṇas* in the body two are said to be below (i. e. *avāñcāu*). Further in ÇB. vi. 7. 1. 11, that which is above the navel is immortal and streams out by upward breaths (*ūrdhvāiḥ prāṇair*), while what is mortal passes below the navel (*parāk tan nābhim atyeti*). The adverb properly means "turned away." Doubtless the idea is "in the opposite direction," hence below. We should have expected *avāñ prāṇa* here, had there been any attempt at definite description.

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[1] Cf. Amṛtabindu Up. 34, above, where *apāna* is in the *guda*. Here the word is used in the general sense of all intestines; there of the lower bowel or anus especially. There is no confusion between *samāna* and *apāna*, any more than between the intestines in general where digestion takes place, and the intestine which carries away what is digested; cf. Āit. Up. i. 3.

ÇB. vi. 1. 2. 11, and x. 1. 3. 1, refer to mortals being created from the downward breaths of Prajāpati; in ÇB. xi. 1. 6. 8, however, it is the Asuras who are said to be thus created. That *avāñ prāṇa*, when standing in the singular, refers to the anus, is further proven by ÇB. xi. 5. 2. 4, where the scrotum is named side by side with it. The passage gives a description of the parts of the body. Beginning from the mouth and going downward, *avāñ prāṇa* comes immediately after the scrotum. Again in ÇB. xi. 1. 6. 30, it is said that everything which enters the various other breaths meets in *avāñ prāṇa*. This is manifestly a reference to the fact that the lower intestine carries away excrement.

Now the fact that *udāna* has largely taken the place of *apāna* as the companion of *prāṇa*, greatly simplifies the question of the true translation of *prāṇa* in ÇB. It cannot mean "out-breathing" along with *udāna*, and Eggeling's translation must, therefore, be rejected. While the point is absolutely final only for the ÇB., it is one that should be reckoned with by those translators of Upaniṣads who would have "out-breathing" to be one of the meanings of *prāṇa*.

It is important to note that in the identification of three of the breaths with draughts (*grahas*) of Soma (i. e. *upāṅçu*, *upāṅçusavana*, and *antaryāma*), the Āit. Brāh. (ii. 21) has *prāṇa* and *apāna* where the ÇB. has *prāṇa* and *udāna*. Haug claims oral information as the basis for his assertion that in the ceremony along with the use of the words *prāṇaṁ yaccha*, breath is inhaled, while after repeating *apāṇaṁ yaccha* it is expelled forcibly through the nose; cf. Haug's Āit. Brāh., page 118, note.

The opposite view, held by Eggeling, is impossible, since his text contains *udāna*, which certainly cannot mean "in-breathing." Even if *apāna* could be shown, contrary to its etymology, to sometimes mean "in-breathing," there is no hope of such a showing for *udāna*. Eggeling has been led astray by the use of certain words of direction or of certain particles of formulaic value, which supplied to the ever-watchful eye and ear of the Hindu an opportunity to indulge in a pun upon the prefix *pra* of *prāṇa*. Such particles and words are:

(a) *Pra* as the first word of a quotation; cf. ÇB. i. 4. 1. 5. The particle in contrast with *pra* is *ā*. The text has *prāṇa* and *udāna*. *Ā* does not even fit *udāna*, and it would certainly be precarious, therefore, to force any lexical meaning of *pra* into the word *prāṇa;* cf. Haug's Āit. Brāh. iii. 26.

In Āit. Ār. ii. 1. 5. 1, there is a combined play upon *prātāyi* (*√tan* with *pra*), *prātar* and *prāṇa*. The conclusion is that day is *prāṇa*. In the same way *sāyam* and *samāgāt* are played upon and *sāyam* (evening) is said to be *apāna*. *Prāṇa* and *prātar* fit together; not so *apāna* and *sāyam*. The whole is, therefore, valueless as to the translation of *prāṇa* and *apāna*.

(b) *Pravah*. This word occurs in ÇB. i. 4. 3. 3, where *āyāhi*, etc., is used with *apāna* and *bṛhacchocā* with *udāna*. The pun is plain only for the first two, viz.:—*pra* with *prāṇa* and *ā* with *apāna*. The reference is to the first *sāmidhenī*, which begins *pra vaḥ*, and to the second, which begins *Agna ā yāhi vītaye*. The identification of *prāṇa* with the first is a mere pun and indicates nothing as to its proper usage.

(c) *Prāñc*. The passage which we note is ÇB. x. 1. 4. 12. *Pratyañc* stands in contrast with *prāñc*, and the two breaths named in connection with these two words are *prāṇa* and *apāna*.

The important statements are:—(1) *Prāg devebhyo juhvati*, i. e. "They offer to the gods in front." (2) *Pratyañ manuṣyeṣv annaṁ dhīyate*, i. e., "Food is put in men in the reverse direction (or behind)." (3) Agni is the *prāṇa* of the gods and by *prāṇa* the gods eat food. (4) By *apāna* men eat food.

The proper interpretation of the passage is probably as follows: From in front men (priests) throw *ghi*, etc., upon the altar. The fire consumes the *ghi*. Now fire is the *prāṇa* of the gods, therefore the gods eat food by *prāṇa*. Hence Agni and *prāñ* and *prāṇa* go together. Again, the food which is the portion of the priests is eaten behind or to the west of the altar. *Apāna* has already been identified with the rear of the altar and is called *paçcāt prāṇa* in ÇB. viii. 1, 3, 6. May this not be all that is meant by saying that men eat food by *apāna*? There would seem to be a connection between this assertion and Āit. Up. i. 3, where *apāna* is called the "seizer of food." The fancy of the writer seems to have passed from the fact of men eating food at the *apāna* end of the altar to the conception of *apāna* as "seizer of food." It must be acknowledged that the passive statement, "Food is placed in men behind" is a very awkward way of saying that men eat their portion of food to the rear of the altar.

But while we may not insist on every point in this suggested interpretation, it may be insisted—as important for our purpose —that fire in consuming the food of the gods, i. e. *ghi*, etc., takes in what is thrown upon it, and therefore Eggeling's translation of *prāṇa* by "out-breathing" should not be allowed to stand.

(d) *Parāñc.* This word occurs with *prāṇa* in the Soma Graha chapters, already noticed, viz.: ÇB. iv. 1. 1 and iv. 1. 2. The contrasted word which goes with *udāna* is *pratyañc.* The usual word with *pratyañc* is *prāñc. Parāñc* is near enough, however, according to Hindu standards, to serve as a link with *pra* of *prāṇa.* We have already seen that *prāṇa* when with *udāna* assuredly cannot mean "out-breathing." The context, too, is decisive against such a translation. ÇB. iv. 1. 2. 27 concludes the chapter in which Soma Grahas and the three breaths are manipulated together. The section contains a sort of résumé in which *prāṇa* (i. e. *upāṅçu*) is identified with the earth; *udāna* (i. e. *antaryāma*) with the sky; and *vyāna* (i. e. *upāṅçu-savana*) with the atmosphere. A corresponding participle and verb are used with the name of each breath, viz.: *prāṇann abhiprāṇiti, udānann abhyudaniti,* and *vyānann abhivyaniti.* Each verb is followed by an accusative (1) *imām* (*pṛthivīm*), (2) *amuṁ lokam,* (3) *antarikṣam.* These accusatives are governed in each instance by the verb with which they stand. We may translate, as follows:

1. Breathing in, he breathes in towards this (earth).
2. Breathing up, he breathes upon that world.
3. Breathing pervasively, he pervades the atmosphere.

While the translation under 3 is only tentative, the contrast between *prāṇat* and *udānat* and the connection of earth with the former and sky with the latter emphatically suggests that *prāṇat* refers to the movement of breath from the mouth downward.

The identification of *vyāna* with the atmosphere is not without suggestion of a breath which is central and pervasive. Its central character is symbolized also in its correlation with the press-stone which in the Soma-pressing was placed between two vessels holding the Soma. Here may be recalled the conception of Ch. Up. i. 3. 5, according to which *vyāna* is the breath which abides when there is neither *prāṇa* nor *apāna.*

ÇB. ii. 2. 2. 15 is a passage which may not be passed over without notice. The preceding context refers to the immortal element, *agni,* being put by the gods within their own selves (*antarātmā*). Then in section 15 we have a description of the placing of the same immortal element in the individual man in connection with the churning out of fire from wood. Two compound verbs occur, i. e. *abhiprāṇiti* and *punar apāniti.* Eggeling translates, "to breathe upon" and "to again draw in

breath." This is a misconception. The statement is that when fire is produced it is inhaled, for breath is fire (*taj jātam abhiprāṇiti prāṇo vā agniḥ*). Further the writer adds, "He causes that which is thus produced (i. e. *agni*) to become that which is" (i. e. *prāṇa*),—*jātam evai 'nam etat santaṁ janayati.* Again the statement is added, *sa punar apāniti.* This, instead of meaning, "he again draws in breath," signifies the exact opposite, viz.: "he again (or, in turn) expels breath." Exhalation must follow inhalation and both processes are needed to make the establishment of *agni* (i. e. *prāṇa*) within the organism (*antarātmā*) complete. There is a still further objection to Eggeling's view. The main assertion of the section is that *prāṇa* is *agni.* Now in breathing the *vital* act is certainly inhalation. The divine Agni is very frequently, in the literature, called *āyus* (life), and it is, therefore, impossible to identify the non-vital act of exhalation with fire as Eggeling's translation would demand.

This review of salient passages from the ÇB. may be thus summed up:

1. *Prāṇa* is "in-breathing."

2. *Udāna* is "up- or out-breathing."

3. *Apāna* is used in two senses, (a) "Out-breathing; (b) The breath which is in the hinder part or lower part of the body. The meaning under (b) is further specialized so that *apāna* comes to be equivalent to *paçcāt prāṇa*, i. e., the anus.

4. There is nothing entirely decisive regarding *vyāna*, but the central pervading, always abiding breath is plainly suggested.

5. The location of *samāna* in the centre of the Fire-altar, which centre corresponds to the navel-region, furnishes a clear basis for the Upaniṣad definitions which have been dealt with above.

III. The Prāṇa-Series in the Upaniṣads.

The material arranges itself in two main divisions.

1. Passages in which explanations are attempted. These have already been dealt with and definite results obtained.

These results, when compared with the conclusions just now drawn from our scrutiny of the ÇB., justify the important inference that the basis of these explanations is to be found in the conceptions which took shape in connection with the building of the Sacrifice and of the Fire-altar. There are additions and developments, but the beginnings of all systematic explanations by Hindu writers are found in the ÇB.

2. Passages where the breaths are referred to in a symbolical way as quotations from or echoes of ritualistic formulas.

As we have already found in the ÇB. the ground-elements of the various Hindu explanations of the Prāṇa-Series, we are here especially interested in the question of the proper translation of the terms, notably of the first two. This question is of so much importance that a review of all the passages with a more or less detailed criticism of each seems advisable.

(1) *Prāṇāpānāu*, cf. Bṛh. Ār. Up. vi. 4. 12; Tāitt. Up. iii. 10. 2; Muṇḍ. Up. ii. 17; Ch. Up. i. 3. 3; Saṁnyāsa Up. iv.; and three Gītā instances.

In every instance, the compound seems to us to mean precisely the same as it does in the AV., viz.: "in-breathing and out-breathing." Deussen, however, translates the second, fourth and fifth instances by "Aushauch und Einhauch," and the first by "Ausatmung und Einatmung. In Muṇḍ. Up. ii. 17, on the other hand, he gives "Einhauch und Aushauch," doubtless because he finds there a clear reference to AV. xi. 4. 13. He should also have noted that Bṛh. Ār. Up. 4, 12 is a regular Atharva-like sorcery practice against a rival wife. His translation of this last passage seems all the more strange because in the two preceding sections, i. e., vi. 4. 10 and 11, he correctly translates *abhiprāṇyā 'pānyāt* and *apānyā 'bhiprāṇyāt* by "Erst einatmen, dann ausatmen," and "Erst ausatmen, dann einatmen."

In Tāitt. Up. iii. 10, the compound appears without any distinctive note of meaning and the earlier translation should be followed unless good reasons for the contrary be forthcoming.

Ch. Up. i. 3. 3 makes *vyāna* the bond of union (*saṁdhi*) between *prāṇa* and *apāna*. Assuredly in such a case the vital act of in-breathing is thought of first. To reverse the order, as Deussen *et al.* do, seems to us without justification. The section contains also the verbs *prāṇiti* and *apāniti* and in the context we find the negative participle of each form. The verbs, the participles, and the dual compound must all, of course, be translated in consonance with each other. There is no indication that the compound has lost its earlier meaning and, therefore, in all the forms *prāṇa* should be interpreted as "in-breathing" and *apāna* as "out-breathing."

Attention to the fanciful identification of *prāṇa* and *ud* of the word *udgītha* supplies a valuable hint as to the true interpretation. The statement is made that a man stands up by *prāṇa*

(*prāṇena hy uttiṣṭhati*). This is plain reference to the simple phenomenon which any one may observe, that a man, who has been seated or lying down, instinctively draws in breath before or while rising. Hence *prāṇa* is inhalation.

The Saṁnyāsa Up. passage is immediately followed by a reference to *apāna* as the navel or possibly the anus. If this has any bearing upon the interpretation of the compound—an extremely doubtful supposition, since the compound is in a prose passage and *apāna* in a quoted stanza—its influence is certainly not in the direction of making *apāna* mean "Einhauch," as Deussen does.

(2) In Āit. Up. i. 4; ii. 4; iii. 4, *prāṇa* means either breath in general or in-breathing. Müller's translation of the word by "scent" is much too narrow an application of it—a restriction into which he was doubtless led by the connection of *prāṇa* with the nose. Since, however, the *prāṇa* which arises from the nose gives rise in turn to wind, the meaning is certainly not to be restricted to a subordinate function of the breath. Vāyu is everywhere correlated with the entire breath activity, i. e., with breath in general.

(3) Ch. Up. iii. 13 (cf. ÇB. viii. 1. 3. 6). This reference has already been noted. The full list of names is used and they are correlated with the various directions. In the matter of translation, Deussen rightly perceives that *prāṇa* means "Einhauch," not "Aushauch." Müller still holds to *prāṇa* and *apāna* as "up- and down-breathing." This is manifestly not accurate. Perhaps in such a passage translation of the terms is not to be attempted. It would probably be no more correct to say that *prāṇa* and *apāna* mean "in-breathing and out-breathing" than to use Müller's rendering. The basis of the symbolism is the bird-like fire-altar, in which the breath is conceived of as moving backward and forward. The forward breath (*prāṇ prāṇa*) includes both in-breathing and out-breathing, and the backward breath (*pratyaṇ apāna*), all breath movements to the rear of the centre. As already intimated, it is probably best to merely transliterate the words. Deussen attempts a translation, but his effort can scarcely be deemed successful. His rendering of *samāna* by "Allhauch" has no induction of facts upon which to rest.

(4) Ch. Up. v. 19–23. This epochal passage sets forth the high Upaniṣad doctrine that inasmuch as the individual soul is not different from the Universal Self (*ātmā vāiçvānaraḥ;* cf. v. 18),

therefore the sage who recognizes this fact performs the whole vast ritual whenever he eats. All he needs to do is to say with the first mouthful of food, *prāṇāya svāhā*, and with the others in turn *vyānāya, apānāya, samānāya* and *udānāya svāhā*. The order of the names is the same as in Ch. Up. iii. 13, and we here recognize an oft-repeated formula; cf. Bloomfield's Concordance under "*Prāṇa*." As in iii. 13, Deussen translates the terms by Einhauch, Zwischenhauch, Aushauch, Allhauch and Aufhauch. Müller again has for *prāṇa* and *apāna* "up- and down-breathing." This can only be admitted if "up-breathing" refers to both inhalation and exhalation, and "down-breathing" to the breath movements below or back of the middle of the body.

The fact that *prāṇa* is said to satisfy[1] heaven, and *apāna* earth, might suggest this. This is not, however, what Müller means by "down-breathing," and his translation must be rejected.

Note that *vyāna* is said to satisfy the quarters. This may be taken, as illustrative of its meaning, as "breath everywhere diffused;" cf. ÇB. iv. 1. 2. 27.

(5) Prāṇāg. Up. i. sets forth doctrine similar to that which has just been alluded to. The mantra used in Ch. Up. v. 19–23 is repeated. *Prāṇa* is called the head or chief (*pradhāna*). The performer of the Prāṇāgnihotra offers water,

(a) In *prāṇa* with the little finger and thumb.

(b) In *apāna* with the nameless (*anāmikā*) or ring-finger.

(c) In *vyāna* with the middle finger.

(d) In *samāna* with the index finger.

(e) In *udāna* with all fingers.

This passage throws no new light upon the question of translation. It is impossible, as regards *apāna*, to determine whether it means "out-breathing" or intestinal breath movements, or is a mere name to fill out a formula. The supreme place given to *prāṇa*, however, makes it certain that it is either life-breath in general or in-breathing in particular. Such passages place a heavy burden of proof upon any one who would attempt to show that *apāna* can ever mean the vital act of inhalation.

In the sentence which follows the statement quoted above, it is interesting to note what is done with the water which the offerer takes on the various fingers. With the thumb and little finger he sprinkles water once upon the One Ṛṣi (*ekarṣi*) i. e. the sun or

[1] In AV. xiii. 3. 4, *prāṇa* is said to satisfy both heaven and earth.

fire; cf. esp. Muṇḍ. Up. iii. 2. 11; Praçna Up. ii. 11, and Bṛh. Ār. Up. v. 15. 1; with the nameless finger he sprinkles water twice on the Āhavanīya Fire, which is in the mouth (Garbha Up. iv; Māitri, vi. 36); with the middle finger he sprinkles water once in the Dakṣiṇa Fire, which is in the heart (Garbha Up. iv.); with the index finger he sprinkles water in the Gārhapatya Fire, which is in the belly (*udara*, cf. Garbha Up. iv.); with all the fingers he sprinkles water once in the all-atoning (*sarvaprāyaçcittīya*) Fire. This last fire is not mentioned in Garbha Up. The reference is probably to the organ of procreation. The Hindu holds that it is essential that every man should have a son in order to secure carrying out of the proper post mortem ceremonies. This may be the meaning here; cf. Āit. Brāh. vii. 13.

Probably in the word *ekarṣi* the eye is referred to, as it is frequently identified with the sun. It thus appears that five points or parts of the body are touched with water. As the abode of the Supreme Spirit, the body is the place of sacrifice.

(6) Māitri Up. vi. 9 uses the same mantra that we have noted under (4) and (5). Before beginning to eat, the knowing sacrificer clothes the *prāṇa* with water. This refers to the custom of rinsing the mouth before eating, which is to this day the common practice. By reason of this custom, water is called the clothing of *prāṇa* in Ch. Up. v. 2. 2. After *prāṇa* is clothed, the five mantras are repeated, doubtless each being accompanied with the taking of a morsel of food. The further explanation is added that the remainder is eaten in silence, and afterwards *prāṇa* is again clothed with water. As to translation, nothing new is developed.

(7) Bṛh. Ār. Up. i. 5. 3. The doctrine under discussion here is the affirmation that all forms of thought (*manas*), all forms of speech, and all forms of breath are varying manifestations of one Supreme Ātman. *Prāṇa*, *apāna*, *vyāna*, *udāna* and *samāna*, are all said to be *Ana*, i. e. *Prāṇa*. This statement is both a recognition that *ana* occurs in each of the names and that *prāṇa* (i. e. *ana*) is the generic entity of which the others are at most manifestations or forms. Now unless *prāṇa* is used in two different senses in the same sentence—an unlikely phenomenon—the first member of the series must express the vital act of in-breathing. Such considerations should have warned both Deussen and Müller that they were wrong in making *apāna* the vital act. In section 23 (34) of this same chapter, Deussen rightly

translates *prāṇyat* and *apānyāt* "by" einatmen and ausatmen," thus making his translation of the noun all the more inexplicable.

(8) Bṛh. Ār. Up. iii. 1. 10. *Prāṇa, apāna,* and *vyāna* are mentioned. They are described microcosmically (*adhyātmam*) as corresponding to the three hymns of praise accompanying the sacrifice, the invocatory, the sacrificial (uttered during the sacrifice), and the praising verse. Deussen here gives *prāṇa* and *apāna* their proper significance. Müller, however, has "up- and down-breathing" as usual. The symbolism which here connects *vyāna* with *yājya* is perhaps intended to bring out its abiding, continuous character; cf. Ch. Up. i. 3. 3 and 5.

(9) Bṛh Ār. Up. iii. 4. 1. The *Sarvāntaraḥ* (*ātmā*) functions in *prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna* and *samāna.* Each noun is accompanied by its corresponding verb, i. e. *prāṇiti, apāniti, vyāniti, udāniti* and *samāniti.* Deussen rightly translates *prāṇa* by "Einhauch," and *apāna* by "Aushauch." If Müller's "down-breathing" for *apāna* could be understood as referring to breath movements below the navel, it might be admitted; he does not, however, seem to have attained to any such insight in connection with *apāna.*

Such a passage as this looks promising on the outside. Surely where both nouns and verbs are used we are coming to close quarters with the problem of translation and may expect definite and satisfactory results! On the contrary, almost no results are obtainable. We have here, in all probability, nothing more than an analogical filling out of the verb-series on the basis of *prāṇiti* and *apāniti* which have the definite meanings of "to breathe in" or "to breathe," and to "breathe out or off." $\sqrt{An}$ with *ud* we have found in a few places with the meaning of "to breathe up;" cf. AV. iii. 13. 5; ÇB. iii. 8. 3. 32; iv. 1. 2. 27. $\sqrt{An}$ with *vi* appears in AV. v. 2. 2, but yields there no meaning beyond that of the simple verb. Its occurrence in ÇB. iv. 1. 2. 37 and its correlation with the atmosphere have been noted above.

$\sqrt{An}$ with *sam* occurs only in RV. x. 55. 5. Its force there gives no help here. Perhaps the strongest proof that *samāniti* is an analogical formation without special significance is to be found in the fact that in the later explanations of *samāna,* this verb is not used but instead a play is made upon *samāna* by using the root $\sqrt{nī}$ with *sama* or with *sam* and *ā.* Deussen omits *samāniti* in his translation of this passage. Barring the first and second verbs and possibly the third, a similarly analogical

character probably belongs to the other terms, and it is better, therefore, merely to transliterate.

(10) Bṛh. Ār. Up. iii. 9. 26. Here a series of questions and answers set forth the dependence of each member of the Prāṇa-Series upon the one immediately preceding it.

In what do *tvam* and *ātmā* find their support (*pratiṣṭhitāu*)? *Prāṇā.*

In what does *prāṇa* find its support (*pratiṣṭhitaḥ*)? *Apāna.*

In what does *apāna* find its support (*pratiṣṭhitaḥ*)? *Vyāna.*

In what does *vyāna* find its support (*pratiṣṭhitaḥ*)? *Udāna.*

In what does *udāna* find its support (*pratiṣṭhitaḥ*)? *Samāna.*

The passage is unique in its presentation, The kernel of it is in the first two members of the Series, i. e. "*tvam* and *ātmā*," and *prāṇa.* The statement amounts to an assertion that the continuance of individual consciousness and the permanence of the individual organism (Çaṅkara notes that *ātman* here means "body") depends upon *prāṇa.*

From this as a starting point, the author, moved by some fancy, passes on to an analogical completion of the series. He is not to be taken too seriously. The assertion, taken literally, is a direct contradiction of Bṛh. Ār. Up. i. 5. 3, where all are said to be forms of *prāṇa.* Here, on the contrary, *samāna* would seem to be the fountain and source of all, i. e., if we press the literal assertion. As already intimated, however, we are not to find anything here except a passion for analogical statement, and the main point is that *tvam* and *ātmā* depend upon *prāṇa.*

Deussen is wrong in returning to the meaning "Aushauch" for *prāṇa.* It is certainly inaccurate to speak of *tvam* and *ātmā* as depending upon the non-vital act of out-breathing. Müller recognizes the impossibility of his favorite "up-breathing" and translates by the general term "breath."

(11) Bṛh. Ār. Up. v. 14. 3. In this chapter the Gāyatrī verse is manipulated. Three words are sought which will make up the necessary eight syllables. These are *prāṇa, apāna, vyāna.*

Again in Tāitt. Up. i. 5. 3, *prāṇa, apāna* and *vyāna* are identified with the Vyāhṛtis, i. e. *bhūs, bhuvas,* and *svar.*

In neither of the above sections does the context throw any light upon the question of translation. Following, therefore, the results already gained, we hold that *prāṇa* and *apāna* mean "in-breathing" and "out-breathing," and not, as Deussen thinks, "Aushauch" and "Einhauch." *Vyāna* had best be left untouched.

(12) Täitt. Up. i. 7. In correlation with the complete Prāṇa-Series, which is said to be treated microcosmically (*adhyātmam*), a series of both psychical and fleshly entities is brought forward, thus:

Prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna, and *samāna.*

Eye, ear, *manas,* speech, and skin (i. e. touch, *tvac*).

Skin (*carma*), flesh, sinews, bone, and marrow.

Cf. also Ch. Up. iii. 13; v. 19-23; ÇB. viii. 1. 3. 6.

How thoroughly formulaic the Prāṇa-Series is, these correlations clearly show. If we translate even the first member, it must not be by "Aushauch," but by "Einhauch" instead.

(13) Täitt. Up. ii. 2. This is the notable chapter in which man is described as consisting of a combination of various envelopes or coverings (*koçāḥ*), which are named respectively "food-made" (*annamaya*); "breath-made" (*prāṇamaya*); "thought-made" (*manomaya*); "knowledge-made" (*vijñānamaya*); and "bliss-made" (*ānandamaya*).

In section 2, the *prāṇamaya koça* is described as having the form of a man whose head is *prāṇa,* whose right side is *vyāna* and whose left side is *apāna;* cf. TĀ. viii. 2. Deussen gives to *prāṇa* its original meaning of "Einhauch." It is best in such a case to leave all the terms untranslated.

(14) Kaṭha Up. v. 3. This stanza is of great importance. The text runs:

> *ūrdhvam prāṇam unnayaty apānam pratyag asyati*
> *madhye vāmanam āsīnaṁ viçve devā upāsate,*

"He brings upward the upward *prāṇa* and throws *apāna* in the reverse direction. All the gods reverence the Dwarf seated in the middle (of the body)."

From the ÇB. we are prepared to understand that the *prāṇa* which moves upward includes both in- and out-breathing, while *pratyañ* with the verb $\sqrt{as}$, "to throw," describes the breath which passes down and out by the anus and sexual organ. Lack of adequate familiarity with the material of the ÇB. doubtless accounts for Deussen's note to the stanza, viz.:—"*Prāṇa* ist hier Aushauch, *apāna,* Einhauch; nicht (wie später) der Verdauungswind." On the contrary, *prāṇa* is not "Aushauch," nor is *apāna* "Einhauch." Further, while according to Āit. Up. i. 3 *apāna* has digestion as a part of its activity, we have not found it restricted to "Verdauungswind" either earlier or later.

However, in this same note Deussen gives his reason for holding to his translation. The concluding clause of his note runs thus, "Welches (i. e. *apāna* as Verdauungswind) bei der Wiederkehr in Vers 5 nicht passt." Now stanza 5 is as follows :

na prāṇena nā 'pānena martyo jīvati kaçcana
itareṇa tu jīvanti yasminn etāv upāçritāu,

"Not by *prāṇa*, nor by *apāna* does any mortal live;
But by another do they live in whom these two find their support."

Prāṇa and *apāna* undoubtedly mean "in-breathing and out-breathing" in conformity with the earlier and prevailing use of the two words. Deussen's mistake consists in assuming that stanza 5 rules in the interpretation of stanza 3. The phrase *etad vāi 'tat* which stands between stanzas 4 and 5, indicates that one phase of the subject is closed and another begins. This, therefore, does away with the supposed necessity of squaring stanza 3 with stanza 5, or vice versa.

These two stanzas, thus close together, furnish the classical example in the Upaniṣads of both the primitive and permanent use of *prāṇa* and *apāna* on the one hand; and, on the other hand, of that use whose development was made possible by the building of the living sacrifice and the animated Fire-altar—which use finds definite statement in Māitri, Amṛtabindu, and Praçna Upaniṣads, etc.

(15) In Māitri Up. vi. 5, *prāṇa*, *apāna* and *vyāna* are named as making up the breath-endowed (*prāṇavat*) form of Brahman. There is a degree of definiteness here which would seem to justify an attempt at translating *vyāna*. As in Ch. Up. i. 3. 3 and 5, it doubtless means the breath which abides in the body when the regular breath activity is quiescent—when there is neither *prāṇa* nor *apāna*.

(16) Māitri Up. vi. 33. Here the five members of the Prāṇa-Series are called the bricks of the fire to which *prāṇa* corresponds. By means of the bricks the (Āhavanīya) Fire is supplied with a head, two wings, a back, and a tail. The order of the names is *prāṇa*, *vyāna*, *apāna*, *samāna*, and *udāna*. The arrangement of these, if ÇB. viii. 1. 3. 6 be recalled, would give what the explanation implies, viz.:—a bird-like form, thus :

	(2)	
	Vyāna (wing)	
(3)	(4)	(1)
Apāna (tail)	*Samāna* (back)	*Prāṇa* (head)
	(5)	
	Udāna (wing).	

If translation be attempted, *prāṇa* must be made to include both in-breathing and out-breathing; and *apāna*, the breath movements back of the centre of the body.

In Māitri Up. vii. 1–5, each section contains one of the above names and they appear in the same order as in vi. 33. A long list of other correlations accompanies each term. In both the above passages it is best to look upon the list of names as merely formulaic.

Observe that although in Māitri Up. ii. 6 (above, ch. II.) there is a serious attempt at an explanation of the various names of the Prāṇa-Series, that explanation seems to have no influence upon vi. 33 and vii. 1–5. This would argue for the composite character of the Upaniṣad.

(17) JB. Up. ii. 5. In this passage the names of the Prāṇa-Series are increased to six by the addition of *avāna*. There are two ways in which the rise of *avāna* may be accounted for:

1. It may be an analogical formation from the compound verb $\sqrt{an}$ with *ava* which appears, in the sense of the simple verb, in ÇB. iv. 3. 2. 6 and iv. 6. 1. 5.

2. It may be formed from the adverb *avāñc* which is frequently used in the ÇB. *Avāna* may stand for *avāñ prāṇa*. *Apāna* is, to be sure, the synonym of *avāñ prāṇa*. This fact would not, however, prevent another author from using the five names as a mere formula and adding another created from *avāñ prāṇa*.

It is to be observed that *apāna*, *vyāna*, *samāna*, *avāna*, and *udāna* are called "Sons of *prāṇa*." *Prāṇa* thus holds the supreme place and must either mean breath in general or inhalation.

(18) JB. Up. ii. 22. Following upon a series of psycho-physical correlations between (a) Speech and Agni; (b) Manas and Moon; (c) Sight and Sun; (d) Hearing and Quarters, the statement is made that *apāna* is Bṛhaspati, and *prāṇa* is Prajāpati. *Apāna* is "lord of Speech" because in speaking breath is exhaled. *Prāṇa* is "lord of offspring" because it is "rich in sons," cf. ii. 5 above.

Oertel's translation by "exhalation" and "breath" is correct.

(19) JB. Up. iv. 22. This chapter contains both an attempt to define creation in terms of the Prāṇa-Series and also states the cosmical correlations of the various names. The correlations are, as below,

1. Prāṇa.....Sun.	2. Apāna.....Agni.
3. Vyāna .....Waters.	4. Samāna.....Quarters.
5. Udāna.....Moon.	

We may note also the corresponding correlations in Ch. Up. iii. 13 and v. 19-23.

1. Prāṇa.....Sun.	2. Vyāna.....Moon.[1]
3. Apāna .. ....Agni.	4. Samāna.....Parjanya.
5. Udāna.....Ākāça.	

The description of creation starts with space or ether (*ākāça*). [Strictly *āçā*, Ed.] This became waters. The waters, as a result of practicing austerities (*tapas*) breathed out forward (*prācīḥ prāçvasan*), uttering the sound "huss." Thus arose (*abhavat*) *prāṇa*. Then these (waters), having breathed in (*prāṇya*), breathed out (*apānan*). Thus *apāna* arose. Upon this there follows a series of analogical statements accounting for each member of the Prāṇa-Series in turn, viz.: *apānya vyānan; vyānya samānan;* and *samānyo 'dānan*. These words recall the full series of nouns and verbs in Bṛh. Ār. Up. iii. 4. 1, and seem to invite translation. Though spoken of the primeval waters, the reference to real or supposed breath activities in man is undoubted. But careful scrutiny soon creates a suspicion that the three last verbs are mere formula-filling words, made for the occasion. Whence comes the long *ā* after *vi*, *sam* and *ud?* Whitney, to be sure, in his "Roots and Verb-Forms" gives the form in long *ā*, but may he not have used this or a similar passage as the basis of the form? It is probable that the *ā* comes by analogy from the *ā* of *prāṇiti* and *apāniti*, and any attempt at translation is likely to be wasted labor. The results of the labor which we have expended are too meagre and uncertain to justify putting them on record. The first two terms of the series are of importance because they seem to Deussen to furnish an argument for his translation of *prāṇa* and *apāna* as "Aushauch"

[1] Moon and waters are in effect the same cosmic thing.

and "Einhauch;" cf. Gesch. der Phil., vol. i., pt. ii., page 250. Neither do we here agree with him. The *prāṇa* which arose when the waters, uttering the "huss," breathed out forward, was breath in general apart from any distinction as to in- and out-breathing. *Pra* in *prācīḥ* and *prāçvasan* creates the opportunity to make a pun upon *prāṇa*, but the question of the direction of the breath movement is not yet raised.[1] The entire first statement which describes how *prāṇa* arose from heated water amounts to saying, what appears again and again in the literature, that heat and breath are identical.

In the second statement, the waters, from which breath in general has been produced, are said to experience the ordinary breath activities. By means of generic breath, inhalation takes place and this is, of course, followed by exhalation. This is precisely what we should expect and thus *prāṇya* and *apānan* retain their ordinary and proper significance.

Breath and Scent.

(20) We now come to the consideration of a number of passages of great importance for the interpretation of *prāṇa* and *apāna*, especially the latter. The list includes the references upon which Deussen rests his case for the translation which we have already had such frequent occasion to controvert in the passages reviewed above.

The references to be brought under discussion are with three exceptions found in the Upaniṣads. They are as follows:

AV. xix. 60. 1 (cf. Vāit. Sūtra iii. 14); Kāuṣ. Up. iii. 4, 6, 7; VS. xxv. 2; Pāras. Gṛh. Sūtra i. 19. 4; Praṇava Up. i. (cf. GB. i. 1, 18); JB. Up. iv. 26; i. 60. 5; ii. 1. 16 and 19; ii. 10; Ch. Up. i. 2. 2; Bṛh. Ār. Up. i. 3. 3; iii. 2. 2.

In AV. xix. 60. 1, the location of *prāṇa* is said to be in the nostrils, *Vāñ ma āsan nasoḥ prāṇaç cakṣur akṣṇoḥ çrotraṁ karṇayoḥ.*

In Praṇava Up. i., *prāṇa*, nostrils, scent and smelling appear together in symbolic correlation with the *u* sound of the syllable

[1] [This is, at least, doubtful, in view of the juxtaposition. "Thus arose" (in the translation) rather dims the original connection (*huss ity eva prācīḥ prāçvasan; sa vāva prāṇo 'bhavat*): The hissing, *huss*, waters breathed forth forward and that (forth forward breathing) became *prāṇa*.—Ed.]

Om. Cf. also ÇB. xii. 9. 1. 14; xiv. 3. 2. 17, where the nostrils are called "the path of *prāṇa.*"

The statement that odors are known by *prāṇa* (*prāṇena gandhān veda*) is found in JB. Up. iv. 26; cf. ÇB. x. 5. 2. 15.

Kāuṣ. Up. iii. 4, 6, 7, has the following very definite assertions: *Prāṇena sarvān gandhān āpnoti. Prāṇo gandhaṁ kiṁcana prajñāpayet. Prāṇa eva 'smin sarve gandhā abhivisṛjyante.*

On the other hand, in VS. xxv. 2, the nostrils are especially correlated with *apāna.* Further in Pāras. Gṛh. Sūtra i. 19. 4, food is said to be obtained by *prāṇa* (cf. ÇB. xii. 9. 1. 14, and note by contrast Āit. Up. i. 3. 4), and scent by *apāna.* In this latter passage the distinction is doubtless between breath in the mouth and breath in the nose. But even so, the two last references ascribe to *apāna* a function which according to all the other quotations belongs to *prāṇa*, and this change is both to be understood and accounted for.

In order to the solution of this problem, we may first bring under review those of the remaining listed passages which occur in descriptions of the famous contest between Devas and Asuras. JB. Up. i. 60. 5, runs as follows: *te 'pāneno 'dagāyan; taṁ tathāi 'vā 'kurvan; tasmād bahu kiṁca kiṁcā 'pānena jighrati, surabhi cāi 'nena jighrati durgandhi ca.* When the gods sang the Udgītha with *apāna*, the Asuras were able to mix it with evil, hence it is described as the agent in smelling both pleasant and unpleasant odors. JB. Up. ii. 1. 16 contributes the following to the treatment of *apāna:*

tam pāpmā 'nvasṛjyata; sa yad evā 'pānena pāpaṁ gandhaṁ apāniti, sa eva sa pāpmā.

In verse 15, *apāna* is said to be the Udgātar. Whatever it breathes out by *apāna* (*apānena apāniti*), that it sang to itself; but the other desires, whatever they are, those it sang to the gods (*atha ya itare kāmās tān devebhyaḥ.*) Following this comes the statement of verse 16, quoted above, that evil was created along with it (*apāna*) and that the evil referred to is the evil smell which he (any one) exhales with exhalation.

JB. Up. ii. 1. 19 is a declaration that when *prāṇa* is used as Udgātar evil is not created, and that therefore, by this *prāṇa* one neither speaks evil, nor thinks evil, nor sees evil, nor exhales an evil odor (*na pāpāṁ gandham apāniti*).

With reference to JB. Up. ii. 10.; Ch. Up. i. 2, and Bṛh. Ār. Up. i. 3, the points to be noted are the following:

(a) In JBU. and Bṛ. Ār. Up., *apāna* is not named, but *prāṇa* is said to be affected by evil, while *mukhya prāṇa* alone escapes, otherwise *āsanya prāṇa*. JBU. ii. 10. 17 closes with these words, *sa yad eva prāṇena (pāpām) prāṇiti, sa eva sa pāpmā*. Br. Ār. Up., i. 3. 3 closes thus, *sa yaḥ sa pāpmā yad eve 'dam apratirūpaṁ jighrati sa eva sa pāpmā.*

(b) In Ch. Up. i. 2, *nāsikya prāṇa* is contaminated by the Asuras, while *mukhya prāṇa* alone escapes. Verse 2 ends with the statement which, with some changes and additions, is quoted at JBU. i. 60. 5, i. e., *tasmāt teno 'bhayaṁ jighrati surabhi ca durgandhi ca.*

The plain inference from a comparison of all these Deva-Asura passages is that *apāna, nāsikya prāṇa* and even *prāṇa* are used synonymously. Since the last two clearly refer to the nasal breath in general without reference to the direction of its movement, we are justified in interpreting *apāna* in the same way. The stereotyped character of the Deva-Asura fable leaves no alternative here.

It is impossible to say with Deussen that *apāna* means "Einhauch" and *prāṇa* "Aushauch," for that would be to make the activity unassailable by the Asuras a non-vital one. Moreover, an attempt to get out of the "frying pan" of difficulty by translating *apāna* and *apāniti* in JBU. ii. 1. 16 by "in-breathing" and "inhales" would at once involve a fall into the "fire" of JBU. ii. 10. 17, where in a similar context it would be meaningless to translate *prāṇa* and *prāṇiti* by "out-breathing" and "exhales."

In JBU. i. 60. 5, therefore, we take *apāna* to mean the entire nasal breath-activity. The way in which *apāna* came to take the place of *nāsikya prāṇa* may have been as follows:

1. The effect of the victory of the Asuras over the Devas in the matter of the nasal breath was that evil odors, as well as pleasant, came to be perceived thereby.

2. From the anus evil odors are frequently emitted.

3. *Apāna* is shown by the ÇB. and the Upaniṣads to have been regularly used to describe both the anus and the breath which issues from it.

4. By means of the nasal breath the odors from the *apāna*-anus are perceived, as well as all other evil odors.

5. This suggestion of identity between the nasal breath and that which issues from the anus seems to the author of JBU. a

sufficient ground for putting *apāna* in the place of *nāsikya prāṇa* in the fable which he quotes from the Ch. Up.

In JBU. ii. 1. 15–16, these two ideas of *apāna*, i. e. as nasal breath and anus breath, are definitely brought together. *Apāna* as Udgātar is doubtless the nasal breath. When, however, the words *apānena papaṁ gandham apāniti* are used, the reference is undoubtedly to the exhalation of evil odors from the anus. Observe that below, in verse 19, it is said that one does not exhale an evil odor by *prāṇaḥ prāṇena na pāpaṁ gandham apāniti.*

Not only does this clearly explain how *apāna* came to be given the place of *nāsikya prāṇa* in the Deva-Asura controversy, but we have at the same time come upon the origin of that misunderstanding on the basis of which some later Hindu authorities have taken *apāna* as meaning "out-breathing." That the word is so taken, we have never meant to deny. What we do deny is that it has such a meaning in the material which we have been reviewing. We dissent from Deussen in all his Upaniṣad passages, including JBU. i. 60. 5. There is clear evidence, however, that Hindu writers of a later time did give that meaning to *apāna* which Deussen attempts to apply to a portion of the references in his "Sechzig Upanishads."

E. g., Çaṅkara in his commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras takes this position; cf. Appendix. Further, Rudradatta on Āpast. Çr. Sūtra xiii. 8. 6, says *prāṇatā bahirgamitavāyunā; apānatā pratyāhṛtavāyunā.* Quoted by Böhtlingk through Caland; cf. Sächs. Ges. Wiss. 1897, p. 120.

Eggeling (SBE. vol. xliii. p. 15), to the same purpose, quotes Sāyaṇa on Täitt. S. iv. 3. 3, as explaining *prāṇa* by *bahiḥ sañcārarūpa,* and *apāna* by *punar antaḥ sañcārarūpa.*

To this list belongs also Pāras. Gṛh. Sūtra i. 19. 4, noted above. The origin of this later opinion that *apāna* means "out-breathing" is probably, as already intimated, to be found in the phrase, *apānena pāpaṁ gandham apāniti* (JBU. ii. 1. 16). The meaning, as has been shown, points to the exhalation of bad odor from the anus. The context is, however, such as to readily suggest another interpretation. In sentences which immediately precede, various psychical activities are referred to in a way to suggest by analogy that *pāpaṁ gandham apāniti* applies to the "receiving" of evil odors; cf. *cakṣuṣā paçyati* in verse 10 and *çrotreṇa çṛṇoti* in verse 13.

Here, then, is the starting point of a misconception which was followed by Çañkara *et al.*, and has beset the pathway of modern translators in their handling of the older material.

Oertel suggested on page 236 of his translation of JBU. (JAOS. xvi.), that such a passage as ii. 1. 16 might be looked upon as a key to the use of *apāna* as "in-breathing." I am further greatly indebted to him for an illuminating statement of his position in a personal letter.

Deussen (Gesch. der Phil., vol. i, pt. ii, p. 250) criticises him in the interests of his own view that *apāna* means "in-breathing" in JBU. i. 60. 5, and ii. 1. 16. The criticism of the latter passage is without force because it rests upon a misconception of the whole situation. The criticism of the former reference has some force as against the word "exhalation," which Oertel uses as a translator, not as an interpreter. This criticism falls to the ground when *apāna* is recognized as the equivalent of *nāsikya prāṇa*.

For Böhtlingk's position, which is of dissent from Deussen, cf. Ber. Gesell. der Wiss., Phil-Hist. Classe, 1897, pp. 80 ff. and 129.

There remains the important reference in Bṛh. Ār. Up. iii. 2, upon which Deussen places great emphasis as justifying his translation of *prāṇa* and *apāna* as "Aushauch" and "Einhauch."

Both the Mādhyaṁdina and Kāṇva Recensions have:

Prāṇo vai grahaḥ so 'pānenā 'tigraheṇa gṛhīto 'pānena hi gandhāñ jighrati. Böhtlingk suggests that the line should read: *Prāṇo vai grahaḥ; sa gandhenā 'tigraheṇa gṛhītaḥ prāṇena hi gandhāñ jighrati.* These emendations bring the assertion here made into exact analogy with the seven similar statements which follow after.

In each case the psychical organ, which is named in the first part of each explanation as a *graha* (fetter), appears in the concluding part in the instrumental case. The first statement alone, in the form in which it has come to us, is an exception to this analogy, and, therefore, Böhtlingk's emendation carries a good deal of force. If the text is to be changed, he is clearly right. But had the text been looked upon as impossible, surely one of the standard texts would have remedied it. While, therefore, we consider Böhtlingk's emendation to be valuable as a suggestion, we would not base an argument against Deussen's position upon it.

On the other hand, however, the text as it stands cannot be claimed for Deussen's position and may be interpreted against it.

1. The eight statements deal with sense organs and their objects (i. e. *atigrahas* or *viṣayas*). No other passage has yet come to light in which *apāna* is described as the *viṣaya* of *prāṇa*. Scents, however, are frequently stated to be the *viṣaya* of *prāṇa*.

2. The analogy of the first statement with the seven which follow breaks down in two ways.

(a) The instrumental case of *prāṇa* should appear in the closing sentence. This has been referred to above.

(b) The analogy demands that the first *apānena* should mean the same as *gandhān* at the close.

We have noted above that in one instance at least *apāna* stands in the place of *nāsikya prāṇa* and even *prāṇa* as breath in the nose. Since the *prāṇa* which begins the statement probably refers to the breath in the nose, the demand of analogy would be fulfilled, if this meaning be given to the final *apānena*.

In the same way the correlation between *apāna* and scent, to which reference has already been made, may satisfy the demands of analogy in the matter of (b) above.

3. The whole series of statements assumes that the "*atigrahas*" are properties of external things. The only sense in which *apāna* can be so described, is as scent itself or as exhalation from those objects which possess odor as a property. Shall we not then say that the first *apānena* really means "scent"? Thus the demands of analogy (b) are satisfied.

There are, then, two alternatives for the interpretation of this passage, since Deussen's translation of *prāṇa* by "out-breathing" has no support at the era of this Upaniṣad.

(1) The text has been changed in the interests of a later view and Böhtlingk's emendation is to be adopted.

(2) *Apāna* is used in the two senses of "nasal breath" and "scent." According to the first it is synonymous with *prāṇa* (cf. Deva--Asura passages) and satisfies analogy (a). According to the second it is synonymous with *gandhān* and satisfies analogy (b).

IV. The Prāṇa-Series in GB.; TĀ.; and the Sūtras.

The material has already been summarized above. No detailed discussion is necessary. A cursory reading of the passages will deepen the impression already made that the five names are merely formulaic, and in ordinary—that is to say not universal —usage carried to the mind of the hearer concrete conceptions of

separate breath processes, i. e. were untranslatable. As especially effective in strengthening this impression may be noted:

1. The double plurals in GB. i. 2. 5; i. 2. 16 (cf. AV. xv. 15 and 16), and i. 1. 39, where fifteen *prāṇas, apānas, vyānas, samānas* and *udānas;* seven *prāṇas* and *apānas;* and seven *prāṇas, apānas,* and *vyānas* are respectively assumed.

2. The triplet of dual compounds, i. e. *prāṇāpānāu, samānavyānāu,* and *udānarūpe;* cf. GB. i. 3. 13; ii. 1. 7; Vāit. Sūtra iii. 20, and Kāuç. Sūtra lxii. 4.

Résumé of Results.

The purpose of the review just closed has been to ascertain the origin, and estimate the value, of the Hindu explanations of the Prāṇa-Series; at the same time to grapple with the question of the proper interpretation and translation of the various terms.

Our conclusions may be summarized as follows:

1. The starting point of the Prāṇa-Series is the word *prāṇa,* i. e. breath in general.

2. The division of the breath activity into in- and out-breathing is primitive and appears in the early literature in the crystallized dual compound, *prāṇāpānāu.*

3. With his habit of careful observation, the Hindu may, and in all probability did early take note of the interval between respirations. This led him to the assumption of an abiding breath whose influence remained even in the absence of *prāṇa* and *apāna,* hence the name *vyāna,* i. e. "breathing apart."

4. A powerful inclination to symbolism marks even the earliest records of the Hindus. It is not strange that *prāṇa* and *apāna* were early drafted into service. As long as but two or three entities were to be symbolically handled, *prāṇa* and *apāna,* or *prāṇa, apāna,* and *vyāna* were sufficient. It is easy to conceive that in a reign of symbolism these names would become favorites and a demand would soon arise for other similar terms. The verb $\sqrt{an}$ was early known with *sam* (RV. x. 55. 5), and *ud* (AV. iii. 13. 4), as well as with *pra, apa* and *vi.*

The demand was therefore met by forming nouns from these verbs also, the *a* being lengthened to *ā* after the analogy of *prāṇa* and *apāna.*

The lengthened vowel of *vyāna* would indicate for it a similar origin. While we think that this is most probable, we are not, as intimated above, unwilling to admit that it may have had an empiric origin.

5. The five words thus formed gradually came to hold an important place in the current symbolism. The use of the terms as a formula opened up the way for a change in meaning of *apāna* by first weakening the sense of its empiric use and then giving its place to *udāna*, doubtless because it seemed etymologically better suited than *apāna* to express the idea of "out-breathing." Accordingly *prāṇodānāu* plays a large role in ÇB. to the exclusion of *prāṇāpānāu*.

6. In connection with the building of the Fire-altar or the Sacrificer into which it was necessary to put life, it was found convenient and fitting to identify the different members of the Series with the bricks used in the various parts of the structure. Indeed, it was probably this demand which motived the rise of *prāṇodānāu* by calling for a different use of *apāna*.

7. The presence of these words, sometimes five, sometimes less, could not fail to provoke attempts at explanation. These attempts are recorded in the Upaniṣads and are based, to some extent at least, if not wholly, upon the way the Series is handled in the ÇB.

For example, the location of *apāna* in the tail of the bird-like altar prepared the way for its location in the lower intestine and the urinary passage; the locating of *samāna* in the middle formed a good starting point for identifying it with the process of digestion; and the use of *udāna* for "out-breathing" gave a point of departure for the assertion that the soul leaves the body by *udāna* (Praçna Up. iii.).

8. These definitions and other later ones (cf. Appendix) are more or less interesting contributions to Hindu ideas of anatomy and physiology, but have no value in themselves, since they do not account for the formation of the Prāṇa-Series on an empiric basis. Each attempted explanation is to be taken, in so far as it is not merely traditional, as the expression of an individual opinion.

9. In the matter of translation our results are mainly negative. Where the full series occurs, it is always symbolical and nothing more than transliteration should be attempted, even in these most appealing instances where each term is accompanied by its verb.

10. One positive result, however, of no inconsiderable value, has been reached—a result in itself important enough to justify the investigation which has been carried on, viz:—We have found that *prāṇa*, in all cases where breath processes are referred to,

means either the double process of inhalation, or "in-breathing" as contrasted with "out-breathing."

We have also lighted upon the probable origin of the misconstruction which led to the inversion, by some writers, of the early and proper meaning of *prāṇa* and *apāna*.

This result will require the modification of the *prāṇa* passages in those current translations which read the later and misconceived meaning into the earlier literature; and will, we trust, be of real service to those who in the future shall have occasion to handle the members of the Prāṇa-Series.

APPENDIX.

Later Definitions.

The Prāṇa-Series does not form an integral part of the Vedānta and Sāṁkhya Sūtras. Commentators have, however, given expression to their views.

I. Commentary to the Vedānta Sūtras.

Çaṅkara in his commentary to the Vedānta Sūtras (ii. 4, 12) gives the following definitions:

(1) *Prāṇa* is the breath whose course is forward and whose function is exhalation, etc. *Prāgvṛttir ucchvāsādikarmā.*

(2) *Apāna* is the breath whose course is downward and whose function is inhalation, etc. *Avāgvṛttir niçvāsādikarmā.*

(3) *Vyāna* is the breath which functions in the junction of these two (*prāṇa* and *apāna*) and is the cause of powerful activities (Ch. Up. i. 3. 5). *Tayoḥ saṁdhāu vartamāno vīryavatkarmahetuḥ.*

(4) *Udāna* is the breath whose course is upward and which is the cause of departure, etc. *Ūrdhvavṛttir utkrāntyādihetuḥ.*

(5) *Samāna* is the breath which leads the juices of food to equality (i. e. assimilates them) in all the members.

Great though the name of Çaṅkara be, he has misconceived his material, and the error of some modern translators has been in following his lead.

2. The Vedāntasāra.

(Khāṇḍa 13 of Text; cf. Jacob's Manual of Hindu Pantheism.)

(1) *Prāṇa* is the breath which goes forward and has the tip of the nose as its place of activity.

(2) *Apāna* is the breath which goes downward and has the anus, etc., as its place of activity.

(3) *Vyāna* is the breath which goes in all directions and has the entire body as its place of activity.

(4) *Udāna* is the breath which has its place in the throat, goes upward, and is the (from life) departing wind.

(5) *Samāna* is the breath which produces the assimilation of that food, etc., which having been eaten and drunk, has gone into the midst of the body.

Observe that our author has an adequate conception of the facts as to *prāṇa* and *apāna*, as transmitted through the ÇB. The other definitions are also familiar.

It may not be out of place to note that our investigation was completed before we knew the position of the Vedāntasāra. We would, therefore, strongly commend the insight of our author as against Çaṅkara!

Five other winds (*vāyavaḥ*) are also mentioned and described:

1. *Nāga* produces vomiting.
2. *Kūrma* produces winking.
3. *Kṛkala* produces sneezing.
4. *Devadatta* produces yawning.
5. *Dhanaṁjayah* produces enlargement.

For an allusion to these "breaths" and four others, cf. Sarv. Up. 10.

3. Gauḍapāda's Commentary to the Sāṅkhya Sūtras.

(Cf. Davies, Hindu Philosophy, p. 66.)

(1) *Prāṇa* is inspiration and expiration.

(2) *Apāna* is the breath functioning in the lower parts of the body.

(3) *Samāna* is the breath which conducts the food, etc., equally through the body.

(4) *Udāna* is the vital force which causes the pulsations of the arteries in the upper part of the body from the navel to the head.

(5) *Vyāna* is the breath by which internal divisions and diffusion through the body are effected.

4. Sāṅkhya-tattva Kaumudi.

(Kārikā 29; cf. R. Garbe's Sāṅkhya Phil., p. 256.)

(1) *Prāṇa* is the breath whose place of activity is from the point of the nose through the heart and navel to the great toe.

(2) *Apāna* is the breath whose place of activity is in the neck, the back, the anus (whence it escapes), the genitals and the ribs.

(3) *Samāna* is the breath whose place of activity is in the heart, the navel, and all the joints.

(4) *Udāna* is the breath whose place of activity is in the heart, the neck, the palate, the brain-pan and below the eye-brows.

(5) *Vyāna* is the breath whose place of activity is in the skin.

Cf. here the PW. "It is the principle which mediates the circulation of juices and puts sweat and blood in action."

5. Suçruta.

(Calcutta Ed., p. 250; cf. Windisch in Sächs. Gesell. der Wiss., 1891, p. 193.)

(1) *Prāṇa* is the breath which goes in and out of the mouth, aids in swallowing the food, and is closely identified with life.

(2) *Udāna* is the breath which ascends upwards and upon which speech and singing depend.

(3) *Samāna* is the breath which functions in digestion.

(4) *Vyāna* is the breath which pervades the whole body and sets the fluids, the sweat and the blood, in motion.

(5) *Apāna* is the breath which takes the digested food and makes it into the excrement and semen; cf. Āit. Up. i. 3.

6. Buddhist Terminology.

(Cf. Kern's Manual of Buddhism, p. 65, in the Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie.)

The terminology of Buddhists in the matter of breath control is significant. *Anāpānāu* takes the place of *prāṇāpānāu.*

One of the important so-called "spiritual" exercises bears the name *anāpānasmṛti.* It is absolutely certain that the generic term *ana* could not have been applied to the non-vital act of "out-breathing," and, therefore, *apāna* must have been so applied. On the other hand, it would not be impossible to include both in- and out-breathing under *ana,* in which case *apāna* would refer to the breath movements below the centre of the body.

"The Science of Breath."

In a recent book (1890) by Rāma Prasād, M.A., published by the Theosophical Society, which bears the title "Nature's Finer Forces," a Sanskrit treatise is translated under the caption "The

Science of Breath." The definitions of the members of the Prāṇa-Series are as follows:

(1) The Prāṇa lives always in the chest.
(2) The Apāna is in the circle of the anus.
(3) The Samāna is in the circle of the navel.
(4) The Udāna is in the midst of the throat.
(5) The Vyāna pervades the whole body.

The five other "winds" mentioned in the Vedāntasāra are also dealt with, the definitions thereof differing slightly from the Vedāntasāra.

The author calls attention to the fact that the Yogins, to which school the treatise belongs, make the navel the starting-point of the system of veins (*nāḍīs*) as against the Vedāntins who start from the heart. Further, much is made of the remarkable physiological (i. e. psychological) fact, based upon careful observation, that in breathing through the nose sometimes one nostril and sometimes the other is wholly used; sometimes one predominates and sometimes the other; while sometimes the flow of breath is as strong in one as in the other.

These variations are said to cause variations in psychical conditions.

The Rig Veda and Atharva Veda.—By Edward V. Arnold, Professor in the University College of North Wales, Bangor, North Wales, Great Britain.

Professor Maurice Bloomfield is at present delighting those who are interested in Vedic study by a series of works which are the fruit of an investigation of the Atharva Veda which has extended over many years. Meanwhile it appears to have struck him that his favourite pursuit lies under some disparagement because Sanskrit scholars have hitherto been agreed that the Atharva Veda is of later date than the Rig Veda. At any rate, he has put forward a new theory, which is in substance that there existed side by side in India two dialects, for which he suggests the names "hieratic" and "popular": in the former were written hymns which have for their theme the adoration of a given deity, in the latter charms directed to the attainment of a specific object (*The Atharva Veda*, p. 46). The hymns of the Atharva Veda are, according to this theory, not merely in their substance, but also in their form (except so far as that has suffered from the hands of their ancient editors) fully as ancient as those of the Rig Veda. It follows that the metres of the Atharva Veda, and in particular the 'popular' Anuṣṭubh, are not developed from the corresponding metres of the Rig Veda, but are independent in their origin and parallel in their development.

In this new theory there are certain points which may readily be admitted; as that the matter of the Atharvan, the book of medicinal charms, may be rooted in prehistoric antiquity, and that two dialects such as Bloomfield describes may very well have existed synchronously. But that on such slight grounds we should throw aside, as due to reasoning "nearly always one-sided and subjective, sometimes patently erroneous," the general view that "the language" (and the metre) "of the Atharvanic hymns is chronologically later than that of the hieratic hymns" by no means follows. The general view is not merely the accepted tradition of the Indians, but has been raised practically to the position of a scientifically demonstrated truth by the grammatical labours of Whitney and his pupils, embodied in earlier volumes of the

Journal. To abandon this view is to make it necessary to rebuild from the foundation our conceptions of the history of the Veda.

It is therefore, I think, matter of regret that Bloomfield should have put forward his new theory in a work the scope of which "does not permit the full discussion of this important question": or in other words, does not permit him to give adequate reasons for his proposition, or even to explain what historical relation he conceives to exist between the "hieratic" and "popular" dialects. He does indeed make the attempt to reduce the current belief to an absurdity; but this he does only by adducing evidence that in the Atharvanic dialect and the Atharvanic hymns a form is found here and there which is specially related to forms in the cognate languages, or is borrowed from the "hieratic" diction. In spite of this the great mass of facts which confirm the accepted view compel Professor Bloomfield gradually to shift from his own position, till at last he writes (on page 49), "Such inferences as may be gathered from the metres, sense, and linguistic forms are rarely of such a nature as to prove the superior tradition of the AV. Occasional instances like AV. *kṛdhi* for RV. *kuru*, AV. *viçva* for RV. *sarva*, noted above, are almost forceless."

With Professor Bloomfield's criticism in detail I do not propose here to deal, since in my view it has been sufficiently refuted by Professor Hermann Oldenberg in a recent number of the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, liv, p. 181 ff. But I gladly embrace the opportunity to give a general view of the results of my own investigations on this subject up to the present time, and thus both to correct and to amplify the views put forward by me in a former part (JAOS., vol. xvii, p. 2), whilst at the same time endeavouring to show within what limits Bloomfield's position is really tenable.

Professor Bloomfield, then, admits that the Vedic hymns are capable of division "into at least two classes, each differing from the other in lexicon, grammar, style, and metrical habits." We may at once notice that whilst hymns of both kinds are found in the Rig Veda, the Atharva Veda employs the 'popular' dialect only. This we might expect from its subject-matter, for a glance at any one of Prof. Bloomfield's books shows it to be almost entirely composed of 'charms friendly or hostile.' Prof. Bloomfield indeed suggests that a few hymns may be found in the AV. which are hieratic in character, such as v. 1, 20 and vi. 61; but this view will not bear examination, at any rate as regards the

hymns specifically named. Not that the hymns of the AV., still less its prose writings, are all of one period ;. but that those which differ from the general standard differ in a still closer approximation to the dialect and style of the Brāhmaṇas. Nor again can the charms of the Rig Veda be said in the strictest sense to be in the same dialect as those of the Atharva Veda; a large number of the hymns are indeed identical, but the language and metre reappears in the Atharva Veda in an altered and apparently in a later form. But by disregarding minor differences we may rightly classify together the 'charms' of the Rig Veda and the hymns of the Atharva Veda as a whole on the one side; and the remaining part of the Rig Veda, which from its much greater bulk we may reasonably name the 'Rig Veda proper,' on the other.

The next questions appear to be two: (1) Can the Rig Veda proper be separated by a sharp line from the Rig Vedic charms? and (2) can the Rig Veda proper itself be further divided on historical principles?

With regard to the first question, there is seldom any difficulty in distinguishing the 'hymns addressed to given deities' from those that 'aim at a specific object.' There are, however, two groups of hymns that fall under neither description. Many hymns have for their object the glorification of the sacrificial instruments; such are the *Āpra* and *Āpriya* hymns, and those described in the Anukramaṇī as addressed to *Grāvāṇaḥ*, *Ṛtvijaḥ*, *Gāvaḥ*, *Havirdhānaḥ* and the like 'deities.' Others are epic or dramatic in their character; such are those which embody the myths of *Indra and Çavasī*, of *Yama and Yamī*, of *Indra and Indrāṇī*, of *Agni and the Devāḥ* and many others. These we may call the 'ritual hymns' and the 'mythological poems' respectively. Again there is no difficulty, other than the magnitude of the task, in defining the differences of dialect and metre which distinguish the 'hymns' and the 'charms.' It then appears that the 'ritual hymns' and the 'mythological poems' occupy a position midway between the better recognized groups; but that the 'ritual hymns' stand on the whole nearer to the 'hymns,' and the 'mythological poems' nearer to the 'charms.' We have, therefore, every indication of a continuous development, and the drawing of a line is from this point of view arbitrary. It has, however, a certain practical convenience, and I shall now endeavor to show to what degree of precision it may be done, referring the reader for further explanations and details

to my recent article in KZ. xxxvii. 4, on "The second Maṇḍala of the Rig Veda."

From a rough division of these two parts we may draw up a list of linguistic criteria of the dialects. The principle upon which such a list is drawn up is unimportant, since any and every list necessarily leads to the same results, provided only that it is long enough. In my list (KZ. xxxvii. 4, pp. 440–452) there are 230 criteria of 'hieratic' diction, with nearly 18,000 examples in RV., and 260 criteria of 'popular' diction, with 4,000 examples. In the face of this mass of evidence, penetrating into every verse of the Rig Veda, evidence of other kinds is almost superfluous.

But to apply this evidence in wholesale fashion to whole Maṇḍalas at a time would be unscientific, since every Maṇḍala contains writings of the two kinds under discussion. It is first necessary to divide the Rig Veda into parts really homogeneous, that is, into its separate hymns or (in the case of composite hymns) parts of hymns.

The following are in round figures my results. The Rig Veda contains 1028 hymns, of which over 800 appear to be simple, and about 220 are composite, and consist of some 780 parts. A large proportion of the latter are short hymns of three verses, which are massed together in the *textus receptus* in the way of which hymns ix. 61–68 are the most striking example. For our present purpose we may say that the Rig Veda consists of 1600 hymns. Of these 920 consist of five or more stanzas, 600 of four, three, or two stanzas each, and about 80 are detached verses. Of the 920 hymns of some length 640 show the 'hieratic' criteria in the proportion of at least five to one, and 120 in the proportion of at least two to one: 65 shew the 'popular' criteria in the proportion of at least five to one, and 20 in the proportion of at least two to one. That is to say, we can assign 725 hymns with certainty to one or the other of the dialects, and 140 with fair probability, leaving 55 only, or about 6 per cent., on the border line. Of the hymns that contain from two to four stanzas, 380 can similarly be assigned with certainty and 160 with probability, leaving 60 or 10 per cent. on the border line. In the case of detached verses the doubtful element reaches 25 per cent. of the whole number. If we consider the bulk of the hymns concerned, it will be safe to say that the whole range of doubt does not exceed one-tenth of the

matter of the Rig Veda; of that tenth a large part will be found to be made up of the 'ritual hymns' and 'mythological poems,' which are also distinguished by their subject-matter.

With regard to the 'Rig Veda proper,' the further question now arises whether it is capable of further division? To judge by subject-matter and dialect, the first answer must be in the negative: there are no such obvious differences as we have hitherto followed. But even at first sight the contrasts of metre are striking. In some hymns of the Rig Veda we find all the verses that compose a stanza to be of even length: in others, of uneven length. Here we find metres which even in the AV. are practically unknown: there, the same metres as are used in classical Sanskrit. A closer inspection reveals differences which are even more important. The inner structure of the verse, whether of eight, eleven or twelve syllables, is found in a number of hymns to be based on models substantially different from those in favor in Sanskrit verse generally. I fear it may be assuming too much to call the metres that are, either in their inner or their outer structure, strange to the Atharva Veda and later poetry 'archaic,' but perhaps for the present purpose I may use the name 'pre-classical.' The 'pre-classical metres' then are the 'lyric' metres, such as Uṣṇih Bṛhatī and Atyaṣṭi, which differ both in their internal and in their external structure, and the 'decasyllabic'[1] and the 'iambic'[1] Triṣṭubh and the early Anuṣṭubh, which differ in their internal structure only. Now I have shown in this Journal (vol. xviii, p. 2 ff.) that the hymns written in the 'pre-classical' metres are marked by the fact that they contain a far larger proportion of 'hieratic' grammatical forms to 'popular' than the Rig Veda as a whole shows, that is to say, that they are hieratic to an extreme degree: and I have also indicated in KZ., vol. xxxiv, 4 ff., that their subject-matter is marked by the special adoration of the group of gods called Ādityas side by side with the national deity Indra. We have, therefore, an accumulation of evidence pointing to the conclusion that the hymns composed in these metres are distinct in character, and presumably earlier in date, as compared with the remaining hymns of the 'Rigveda proper.' A sharp line between this group of hymns and the rest

[1] For the definition of these terms see KZ. *loc. cit.*, above, p. 312.

of the Rig Veda I do not pretend to draw: the general distinction I believe to be proven.

These groups then, the Rig Veda of the 'pre-classical' metres, the rest of the Rig Veda proper, the ritual hymns, the mythological poems, the charms of the Rig Veda, the charms of the Atharva Veda, and the prose of the Atharva Veda form a succession of which the order is fixed. It need not necessarily be conceived as directly an order of time. We could think of the writings as the work of seven different provinces, in the order of their longitude: and indeed a distinction between Western and Eastern poetry has often been suggested. We could think of them as the products of seven different social classes; this would be on the lines of the solution suggested by Bloomfield. But it appears to me all these points of view are substantially equivalent to an order of time. The literature of the Ganges is the literature of the Indian people when they had passed through further stages of development since the time when they passed the Indus: and the 'hieratic' diction of a priestly class is everywhere the diction of a class which has retained the manner (side by side with the metre) of the men of an earlier century. Therefore I look upon it as an over-refinement when Professor Bloomfield writes: "the proximity of the language of the genuine Atharvanic hymns to that of the Brāhmaṇas and Classical Literature is no chronological criterion." It is true that we cannot fix from such considerations the year, or even the century, in which a particular hymn of the Atharva Veda was written: but we are, I think, justly entitled to conclude that the whole mental attitude of the writers was in a corresponding degree approaching to that in which the Brāhmaṇas and the Classical Literature were produced.

Of simultaneous development on parallel lines the Vedas show no trace. How steady and continuous the course of grammatical change is I have endeavored to show in my *Historical Vedic Grammar.* I now propose to give a very short sketch of the similar development of metre: a field in which precise measurements are readily available, and yet one which Bloomfield has, a little recklessly, selected to illustrate a hastily-conceived theory. In the RV., he tells us, the first pāda of the Anuṣṭubh hemistich regularly ends in ∪ – ∪ ⏑, in the Epic ślokа in ∪ – – ⏑; the Atharvanic or popular Anuṣṭubh permits not only these, but all other possible feet of four syllables.

This freer measurement stands nearer to the Avestic non-quantitative eight-syllable line, and is therefore the earliest form of the Anuṣṭubh ; from it the 'hieratic' and the 'epic' Anuṣṭubh are sister developments.

This theory may seem in itself plausible : but even if we were justified in setting aside the linguistic evidence, I should still make the objection that its basis is too narrow and too inexactly traced. The 'hieratic' and 'popular' Anuṣṭubh are types which differ normally in one syllable only out of sixteen which form the hemistich : for the first half of each verse has the prevailing rhythm ⏑̲ – ⏑̲ – in both metres alike, and the rhythm ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑̲ is in each established at the end of the second verse. Two such metres must have some nearer point of contact than the non-metrical Avestan verse.

Secondly, the 'epic' ending ⏑ – – ⏑̲ in the first verse of each hemistich is rare in the Rig Vedic charms, much commoner in the Atharva Veda, and fully established only in the epic poetry : yet (even according to Bloomfield) the Rig Vedic charms are of an older redaction than the Atharvanic. Let us take an example. RV. vi. 28. 8 runs :—

úpedám upapárcanam āsú góṣúpa pṛcyatām
úpa ṛṣabhásya rétasy úpendra táva vīryè

The corresponding Atharvanic stanza (ix. 4, 23) is :

úpehópapárcanāsmin goṣṭhá úpa pṛñca naḥ
úpa ṛṣabhásya yád réta upéndra táva vīryàm

Pāda *a* has the 'hieratic' form in both versions : pāda *c* has the 'hieratic' form in the RV., and the 'popular' form in the AV. Now on the usual hypothesis the AV. version is readily explained as an adaptation of that of the RV. to a new development of the metre. But if the AV. version is here really the earlier, why has the RV. poet altered it, seeing that in no case is the stanza of 'hieratic' character ?

Let us consider the earlier point of view more in detail. The Anuṣṭubh of the Rig Veda proper has the same type for each verse of eight syllables, that is ⏑̲ – ⏑̲ – ⏑ (⏓) ⏑ ⏑̲. The general rhythm is iambic : but in the early part of the verse the short syllables may be replaced freely by long, whilst in the latter part the only permissible variation (beyond that of the *syllaba anceps*) is the shortening of the sixth syllable, which is

by rule long. The 'popular' Anuṣṭubh however divides the stanza into two hemistichs, each of 16 syllables. So far from being generally a 'freer' meter than the 'hieratic' Anuṣṭubh, it is in the last four syllables much stricter, rejecting altogether the short antepenult. But it shows a wavering in the second section of four syllables, inclining to make both the sixth and the seventh syllables long. These syllables, which from the 'hieratic' standpoint belong to the end of the verse, now belong to the first half of the hemistich: what more natural than that the tendency to shorten should, not without a period of wavering, give way to the tendency to lengthen?

Let us turn from the Anuṣṭubh stanza, which after all is a rare metre in the Rig Veda, to more characteristic metres. In the first place we have the important group of metres which are based upon the combination of verses of eight and twelve syllables, such as Bṛhatī (8, 8, 12, 8), Satobṛhatī (12, 8, 12, 8), and Uṣṇih (8, 8, 12). These metres I have ventured to group together under the title 'lyric.' Historically they are perhaps all variations of the Anuṣṭubh (8, 8, 8, 8), and therefore later in date: but the Anuṣṭubh metre in some form existed from Indo-Iranian days, and these variations may well be coincident with the earliest period of Vedic poetry. I have already stated that all the hymns in these metres have a marked 'hieratic' character in their vocabulary and grammatical forms. Of the 8-syllable verses we need say no more than that they are identical in their inner structure with the 'hieratic' Anuṣṭubh. The history of the 12-syllable verse (whether in the 'lyric' metres, or in the Triṣṭubh and Jagatī hymns which have the same inner structure) is more intricate. I propose to compare it first with the 12-syllable verse (or the corresponding 11-syllable Triṣṭubh verse) of the Rig Veda proper, and secondly with the same verse of the AV. The forms differ throughout according as the caesura follows the fourth or the fifth syllable.

If the caesura follows the fifth syllable, the types are

(*a*) ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ‖ (⏑) ∪ (⏑) ∪ (⏑) ∪ ⏑

(*b*) ⏑ – ⏑ – (⏑) ‖ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ⏑

(*c*) the same as (*b*).

Now both these forms depart from a strict iambic type chiefly in that syllables before the caesura may be lengthened, and after

the caesura may or must be shortened.[1] With regard to the eighth and tenth syllables the lyric metre gives occasional short values not permitted elsewhere, just as the 'hieratic' Anuṣṭubh gives an occasional short sixth: whereas the cadence of the popular metre is strictly determined. With regard to the fifth and the sixth syllables, the lyric metre uses a short or long fifth indifferently, the 'popular' metre a long fifth much more often: the lyric metre uses a long sixth fairly often, the popular metre never. In both points the popular metre shows the increasing prevalence of the principle "lengthen before the caesura, shorten after it" (as contrasted with a uniform iambic rhythm) up to the seventh syllable inclusive: in the remaining syllables the popular metre shows a more rigid adherence to the iambic type.

If the caesura follows the fourth syllable, the types are

(*a*) ⏑ – ⏑ (⏑) ‖ ⏑ (⏑) (⏑) (⏑) ⏑ (⏑) ⏑ ⏑

(*b*) ⏑ – ⏑ – ‖ ⏑ ⏑ (⏑) – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑

(*c*) ⏑ – ⏑ – ‖ ⏑ ⏑ (⏑) – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑

the two forms (b) and (c) gradually passing one into the other. The 'lyric' form shows an occasional *shortening* before the caesura: after it it frequently preserves the iambic form ⏑ – ⏑, yet generally shortens the sixth syllable, and lengthens the seventh: the latter change is not to be explained by the general principles so far laid down, and I suggest it may be due to the influence of the other type of the 12-syllable verse, which has normally the succession ⏑ ⏑ – after the caesura. Form (b) differs from (a) only in a greater rigidity throughout. Form (c) is marked by an increasing favour shows to a long fifth syllable, a further divergence from the iambic type.

It appears to me that on the whole the relation of the types (*a*) (*b*) (*c*) can be very naturally explained on the supposition that they are successive developments from a type which was originally a loose iambic rhythm, under the general principles of lengthening

[1] This law (which also applies to the Anuṣṭubh verse), was, so far as I know, first laid down in principle by R. Kühnau in a work which has hardly received the recognition which it deserves (*Die Triṣhṭubh-Jagati Familie*, Göttingen, 1886). He writes "die Länge der dritten Silbe dient dazu dem ersten Abschnitte der rhythmischen Reihe das an Schwere zuzusetzen, was der zweite an Länge voraus hat." The history of the verse in classical times, as he shows, gives an emphatic assertion of this principle.

before the caesura, shortening after the caesura, and making the cadence rigidly correct. That the changes (if isolated from the linguistic differences found in the same hymns) might be plausibly explained in the order (*c*) (*b*) (*a*) I do not deny, but I certainly do not think such an explanation easier, nor is it in harmony with the direction of the development of the metre in classical times.[1] But that these developments can be explained as parallel and independent variations seems to me impossible.

If, however, the normal type of the 11- and 12-syllable verses is approximately the same for a great part of the Rig Veda and for the Atharva Veda, there are other points of metrical divergence. In the Atharva Veda, verses of 11 and of 12 syllables are inextricably confused in the same stanzas: 'short metre' continually interchanges with 'long': scraps of prose are interspersed: and the metres of all kinds are defective and irregular. In Bloomfield's words, "It is frequently difficult to determine whether a passage is merely cadenced prose, or doggerel metre, or originally good metre spoiled by interpolations and additions." In the AV. as we possess it we have either verse degenerating into prose (in M. Jourdain's sense), or we have prose gradually elevating itself into verse. The former suggestion recommends itself to me the more readily.

To sum up this discussion: there is nothing in the language, metre, or subject-matter of the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda which cannot be consistently explained upon the hypothesis that both are the work of one school of bards, developing, maintaining, and finally losing hold of their art in a succession of generations. Yet Professor Bloomfield's reminder that an artificial diction may be used by such a school is not without its value. By its means I find a reasonable explanation of a point which long puzzled me, namely, why in passing from the ritual hymns to the mythological poems we find a sudden and violent change of vocabulary and of grammatical forms, and yet practically no change of metre. If the language of the later hymns was largely traditional, we can understand that when once its hold loosened the linguistic changes would be numerous, whilst the development of metre might actually be arrested by this diversion of interest. In other words, I am prepared to accept Prof. Bloom-

[1] See Kühnau, *op. cit.*, p. 317, note.

field's principle, if its application be restricted to those parts of the Rig Veda which have at least the metre in common.

But, Prof. Bloomfield asks, are not charms of immemorial antiquity? and if so, how can we place them later in time than the hymns of the same people? The answer seems simple. The people of the Rig Veda, it is very probable, were prone to magic as their forefathers had been. But this magic had not become the parent of literary art: it had not commanded the services of the bards. The poetry of India, as of Israel, arose from the united motives of patriotism and religion: the patriotism of an invading race, the religion of a people whose eyes were nevertheless raised from earth to heaven. In both cases the poetry of religion and country has been preserved to us in its primitive form by the sacred character it has assumed. The charms, the domestic ceremonies (shall we say too the love poems and war-dances of the same peoples?) have not been preserved to us so well; those that we have, in their present literary form, are unmistakably later. Nor can we with any certainty conjecture, even dimly, from the material before us what that primitive form was. The mystery, so long jealously guarded, of the Pāippalāda recension of the Atharva Veda can alter nothing in this: whatever its publication may do for us, it will assuredly not give us an Atharvan text that can compare for antiquity with the text of the Rig Veda. The predecessors of the Atharvan charms are already published in the text of the Rig Veda, of which they form by every rule of evidence the latest part.

Professor Bloomfield's services to Sanskrit literature are of too long standing and too widely recognized not to be able to support the burden of a single mistake. Yet his example once more points the moral which Professor Oldenberg has lately endeavored to enforce, that of all the startling innovations proposed in Vedic criticism during the last generation not one has led to any solid advance. It is by steady and persevering work in detail alone that such progress is now being made. Of such work Professor Bloomfield has done much on the field of the Atharva Veda: for a critical comparison of that book with the Rig Veda he has never equipped himself, and on this subject he can hardly claim to speak with authority. At the same time, I cannot claim that this brief statement constitutes a proof of the theory I myself advance. Those who desire to satisfy themselves to which side the balance of evidence inclines, or to make some

advance on results already attained, must be prepared to consider in detail the evidence itself. To do so is necessarily a laborious task, and may seem to most a wearisome one. Nevertheless I hope soon to put before Orientalists in a consecutive form my own collections of facts, trusting thereby to make the road of discovery a little easier to those who come after me. As my own work is built upon the basis established by Whitney, Avery, Lanman, Edgren, Haskell and others in the earlier numbers of the *Journal*, I trust that this summary of results will not be found altogether out of place here.

Notes from India.—Letters to the Corresponding Secretary from Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York City.

1. Meeting with the Parsis.

BOMBAY, March 3, 1901.—These notes I send from Bombay, where I have been for a week or more, and a most interesting time it has been—filled with new impressions and full of profit, I hope, for my studies in the future. Such hospitality as the friends here seem to know how to extend, I never dreamed of.

There was a Parsi delegation on the wharf when the steamer arrived. A welcome was given that afternoon by a special meeting of the Society for Making Researches into the Zoroastrian Religion. It was a pleasure to meet among others, dear old Mr. Cama, the Nestor of Parsi scholars, upon whose shoulders his seventy or more years sit with the lightness of youth. The fine eye, the patriarchal beard, and the distinguished bearing reminded me of the impression given by the tall figures of the priests on the Ancient Persian sculptures.

On Monday I visited the Mulla Firoz Library, which adjoins one of the fire temples. After a peep at some of the old manuscripts, there was a rare treat accorded me to witness a special performance of the Yasna ceremony, or ritual worship. This was given that I might have a chance to study the performance of the rites as actually carried on. It was allowable to take notes, and every point was explained, with all its significance, even to the details when the little goat was milked to provide the *gąm jīvyąm*. The scene of the priest seated before the fire censer, the perfume of the incense, the use of the sacrificial metal cups which rang shrilly when struck during the preparation of the sacred *haoma*, is one that I shall not forget. The tones of the chanting *zōt* and *raspī* still ring in my ear; and as a memento of the ritual celebration I still have a couple of tiny twigs of the dried *haoma*-plant and a small band of the *urvarā*-tree used in binding the *barəsma*, or barsom.

In the pronunciation of the officiating priests I noticed certain slight differences from the pronunciation that I have been using;

they were more like the pronunciations I had been accustomed to before going into the matter of transcription, so I was prepared for this, and I have been discussing the question a little with the priestly authorities. They seem to show almost as much interest in hearing about the Western views and interpretations as I feel in learning from them. The West and East, they liberally emphasize, may be of mutual advantage to each other by interchanging views. Such kindness and courtesy as one meets at every step are delightful.

There has been a chance also to see the so-called Navjot ceremony, or initiation of a child into the mysteries of the religion. This ceremony corresponds in a way to our idea of confirmation. Some of it was very impressive. The company of twenty priests formed a hollow square as they squatted upon the floor, around a censer of the sacred fire. The child was a girl seven years old. She was brought in and placed in the midst of the square and various ceremonies were performed. She was then robed in the *sudrah* or sacred shirt, and it was bound with the *kusti*, or holy girdle—the *aiwyâŋhana* of the Avesta. The shirt represented the many good features of the religion in which she was now clothed, and it was bound with the girdle of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, truth, and the like. The Parsi is very particular in living up to the requirements of his religion in the matter of speaking the truth, and his word is regarded as good as his bond.

If there were time I could give you a description of a Parsi wedding to which I was invited, or could write of many other details crowded into the past eight days, with interviews, visits, appointments, receptions, inspection of educational institutions, and the like, but I have already been writing at too great length. There may be space, however, to add that I had an interesting day at the Karli caves with Dr. J. E. Abbott—one of our Oriental members as you will recall. Through the kindness of a Brahman acquaintance there was an opportunity to get into one of the smaller Indian temples, and I am invited to attend a Brahman wedding if I can stay till next Wednesday. The Burning Ghāts, now busy with plague victims, have been seen; and the Towers of Silence will be visited to-morrow. But enough! This communication will be too long.

I have occasion to thank you for your good letters of introduction, which I shall use. Please give to President Gilman, and to

each of our Fellow-Directors, my kindest remembrances, and add best wishes and a welcome to our Oriental members for the coming meeting at Columbia University. In closing I may say that I am counting on a visit, among other cities, to Ujjain.

2. Notes Descriptive of a Brahman Wedding.

BOMBAY, March 6, 1901.—An interesting experience it was indeed, to-day, to go out into the country to see a Hindu wedding through the courtesy of my kind Brahman acquaintance, Rājarām Rāmakrishna Bhāgavat. The bride was his cousin and he and his wife were her sponsors, as her parents were dead. The bride's name was Vatsalā, daughter of Bhāskara Hari Bhāgavat, and her age was fifteen. The groom, a young lawyer of twenty-three, was Sadāçiva Vishnu Parānjape, B.A., B.L. The novelty of the experience, and observing and taking notes of the various ceremonies connected with the wedding, kept my eyes and ears busy, and my thoughts occupied with matters pertaining to the Veda and the Gṛhya-sūtras, or combining India new with India old. The notes which I took on the spot may possibly have some interest. I give them for what they are worth as rough memoranda. There are, no doubt, mistakes or oversights in them, but I present them in about the form in which I wrote them down at the moment.

Arriving at the bride's house shortly after sunrise, for the wedding began at daylight, we were welcomed by our Brahman host. He wore a robe red in color, which recalled to me the wedding scene in the drama Nāgānanda. It was girt about his loins, and he was naked above the waist, except that he had on two *upavīts*, or sacred cords. The second was explained as worn to cover the upper part of the body, when no over-garment was used. He wore his head shaven with the exception of the crown lock. He and his wife and the bride were now in their places in the large room of the dwelling, and were squatting upon a low board that was raised about an inch from the floor. A candle was near, and auspicious marks of red chalk were visible in a number of places. The bride herself was likewise dressed in red garments, and decked with some ornaments. She wore the nose-ring common among some of the women of India. The *tilak* or forehead mark was observed.

At the moment of our arrival the presentation of fruits, cocoanuts, and mango-leaves, for use in the ceremony, or as part of it,

was in order. Water was poured on the hands of the bride each time, and *mantras* accompanied the presentation. At this instant music from the native band, which had just arrived, interrupted all conversation and explanations. From the adjoining room attendants entered with a tray, holding some vegetables or greens and mango-leaves rolled up together and tied. Each time a gift was presented it was first touched against the hands of our Brahman host, acting in the place of the dead father. When this special tray of nuts, fruits, and leaves was presented, the family deity, Kanakeçvara, a form of the sun, was invoked to make the occasion auspicious. To this presiding divinity two cocoanuts were consecrated. The special family *purohit*, chaplain, as we were informed, was absent at the time, so another priest had to be installed in his place. A fire-censer we remarked was lighted, and gifts of cocoanut, clothes, etc., were again brought in on a tray. The father of the groom had also a present of ornaments to make to the bride. He placed red paste or powder on her forehead and also between the brows of her guardian and the latter's wife. Our Brahman host touched these gifts each time to his forehead in accepting them for the bride. The gift of an elaborate head-dress for the girl was quite effective. This was presented with a ball of sugar-candy, or sweetmeat confection (*maṇḍala*).

Next followed a special oblation by the bride to the guardian deity and presiding divinities of the home. The details were not all quite clear to me and my notes had to be hurriedly taken to keep pace with the ceremony. But I record them as I took them down. In one corner of the large room there was a small altar or shrine with little figures and various objects about it. This was sacred to the family-god, *deva*, and to minor female divinities, *devikās*, as far as I caught the explanations. The latter were six in number. The names as I jotted them down were *Nandinī*, *Nalinī*, *Māitrā* (sic), *Umā*, *Paçuvardhanī*, and *Çastragarbhā Bhagavatī*, the goddess who presides over the cutting of the umbilical cord. There was an earthen jar or jug, designated as *devaka*, that contained rice and other materials. Our Brahman friend said that originally the leaves of five different plants or trees should be the contents of this jar: (1) turmeric plant, the hard yellow root of which is used is cookery and in dyeing; (2) almond tree, (3) walnut, (4) betel nut, (5) mango leaves. A cloth jacket for the goddess lay among the things on the tray

before the shrine. White was noticeable as a color, perhaps indicative of virginity (cf. Skt. *gāurikā, gāurī*). Rice was also laid on a seat for the Goddess of Abundance, *annapūrṇā.*

The bride now squatted in front of the altar and placed on a stone seat a small image of a god, which she proceeded to worship. I was told she would come again and worship this little figure on the sixth day after having given birth to a child. The *mantras* which she recited were in Marāṭhi, not in Sanskrit; the import of one or two was noted: "May the family spread like a banyan tree," etc.; "This is the husband of my choice;" "To thee, O Çiva and Parvatī, I bow." The same she repeated again before the arrival of the bridegroom; but, meantime, we went outside the house to observe the preparations in the courtyard, or platform before the door.

The *purohit* was arranging for the ceremonies that were to take place there. At the door of the house there was a large jar filled with water. On its surface a small metal cup was floating. This cup had a small hole in the bottom, so that it gradually filled and sank to the bottom of the larger vase. It required twenty-four minutes for this to take place, and as the operation had to be repeated seven times after sunrise before the marriage ritual could be performed, the time would be 168 minutes after the sun was up. The two vessels served, therefore, as a clepsydra, and the ministering priest sprinkled water from them on the ground as he worshipped this ritual timepiece, reciting verses that were hardly audible. A mango leaf, I noticed, rested on the rim of the vessel; a taper was burning near; and rice, betel-nut leaves and yellow turmeric paste were present in abundance. Symbols and memoranda were painted in Nāgarī characters on the wall of the house, near the door. Some of these gave the date and a record of the casting of the horoscope, which the priest drew from an almanac printed in Sanskrit letters. The planetary influence and the asterisms were duly explained.

It was now time to visit the groom's house, perhaps a quarter of a mile, or more, distant. As we entered, I noticed that he, too, was not without a decorative headdress. A fire censer was burning also here in the entry. A brief ceremonial breakfast was going on. It is customary for the bride's mother—in this case her cousin or guardian—to offer food to the groom while still at his own house. His friends were seated by his side, squatting upon low seats. From plantain leaves, as plates, he was eating

some curds and parched rice. The Hindu meals, as we know, are usually taken with the body stripped to the waist; on this ceremonial occasion all was done in full costume. Relatives of the bride also joined in waiting upon the groom and his friends; and we noticed the nose-rings of the women and the ringbands adorning their bare feet. When the brief repast was over and removed, all arose. A black spot was now put on the groom's face to ward off the evil eye. He then proceeded to his room to go through the *devaka*-ceremony, which is a counterpart of that performed by the bride.

On the completion of this rite the wedding procession was ready to start. The groom took his seat in a victoria; his little sister with her tiny nose-ring, and an earring in the upper part of the ear instead of the lower lobe, was by his side. The oldest sister also occupied a place in the carriage. The native band struck up; the pipes and *tam-tams* united to make the sound a merry one; and the procession started along the dusty way with the women going first, according to ancient custom.

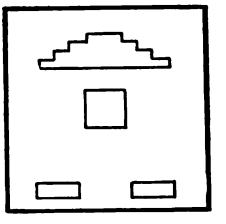
When the groom reached the bride's house, water was poured upon his feet, but with no special ceremonial performance. The bride was seen still worshipping at the household altar. The groom now put on a wedding garment and the couple met and were placed opposite each other with a screen or cloth, *antarpāt*, interposed between them, so that they could not see each other.

In a nasal tone the priest began to chant the *mantras*, but not in canonical Sanskrit, it seemed. Rice was thrown again and again. At this point the bride's red shawl, *sāri*, was taken off, so that she appeared in white. An interchange of gifts between the nuptial pair took place beneath the cloth that still separated them. The second priest took up the chant, and at every *sarvadāna* a handful of rice was thrown. The dividing cloth was now lifted, and amid the loud clapping of hands and the noise of *tam-tams*, pipes, cymbals, and music, the congratulations to the newly married couple were in order.

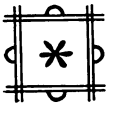
This completed the first stages of the ceremony, and the pair were now seated on low settees, opposite each other, and cocoanuts were presented. The bride was again decked in her red attire, with white cloths and yellow turmeric coloring. Some *mantras*, according to the Gṛhya-Sūtras, followed, and the bride and groom began tossing rice upon each other. Rose water and perfume were sprinkled among the guests; and cardamon seeds

and cloves were handed around. At the *madhuparka* part of the ceremony we were courteously invited to partake of the wedding breakfast, by ourselves, up stairs. Seated in Hindu fashion upon the floor, and eating with our fingers from plantain leaves, we enjoyed the viands, which consisted largely of cakes, sweetmeats, and sugar balls, washed down in English style with drafts of tea.

By this time, five of the seven stages had been gone through. The sixth was the formal covenant before the altar in the presence of the holy fire and the Brahman priest. This now took place. A quadrangular space for the *vedī*, or altar, was already arranged under a tiny bower or thatched canopy in the court-yard. The altar and quadrangle were in this shape.



The square and rectangular blocks indicate little seats for the priest and the bride and groom. Brass vessels, bundles of straw, *barhis*, and a wicker basket were lying round about. The priest proceeded to arrange the altar place. The ground was first sprinkled with water; then white lines of powder, or chalk, were strewn or drawn in the midst. A little image, yellow with turmeric, was in the center (*) of the figure drawn by the priest, a diagram of which is given.



But all these details had consumed a great deal of time. The hour was moving on towards noon, and we had an appointment to meet in Bombay, so that we could not stay to witness all. The remaining ceremonies consisted in tying the garments of the couple together in a nuptial knot, and the formal 'seven steps,' *saptapadī*, around the altar, after which the priest pronounces the solemn union and the marriage is irrevocable. At two in the afternoon the bride and groom would formally eat together, each

giving the other seven (?) mouthfuls. The ceremonious pronouncing of the names, *āhvāna*, follows in a rhyming couplet, and there were to be ritual observances at the door of the groom's house when he took the bride to his home that evening. But alas! there was not time to wait for all this, as we had been away from the city since before daylight.

One special observance connected with Hindu marriages was mentioned as customary. It is the tree-marriage, so often referred to in ancient and modern popular literature. [The special application of this to the "third wife" has been alluded to by Professor Ladd in this volume of the *Journal*, above, p. 228.] If a man loses two wives there is a common belief, he will lose the third. Accordingly if he wishes to wed again he goes through the ceremony of marrying a tree as the third wife. He may then with safety wed the woman of his choice, because she becomes number four, and the evil lot of being number three falls upon the tree. A reverend Christian who accompanied me, and was a Brahman by birth, told me that his own uncle had gone through this ceremony. There were dozens of other minor details in manners and customs that interested me in this connection and made more real and living what I had known before only through ancient texts, or the often dry medium of books.

3. Sanjan, or the Scene of the First Parsi Settlement in India.

SANJAN, March 7, 1901.—On the journey northward, after leaving Bombay, there was a good opportunity to visit the old town of Sanjan, which is the scene of the earliest Parsi settlement in India. This town, now nearly deserted, was once a sort of Plymouth for the early Parsi exiles from Persia. According to their traditions this is the spot where first they landed on Indian soil and found a home among the mild and tolerant Hindus, after being driven out of Iran by the Mohammedan conquest. I had the advantage, when making the visit, of enjoying the escort of Mr. R. P. Karkaria, the well-known Parsi writer, whose knowledge of Parsi history and interest in all matters relating to his community made him a most admirable *cicerone*.

According to the chronicle records of the Kissah-i Sanjan (transl. by Eastwick, JRAS., B.B., i. 167–191) the Parsis landed at Sanjan, A.D. 775 or on other authority in A.D. 716. The discrepancy between the dates is probably to be explained by the fact of two successive bands of immigrants—see Dosabhai F. Karaka,

History of the Parsis, i. 30 note, and K. N. Seervai and B. B. Patel, *Gujarat Parsis from their earliest Settlements*, p. 3. These Zoroastrian exiles, after being allowed to settle at Sanjan, formed a thrifty and flourishing community and remained there until Mohammedan persecution in A.D. 1315 forced them to flee to the Bhārut hills, which one sees about eight miles to the east of Sanjan. Thither they carried their sacred Bahrām fire and cherished it amid various vicissitudes until happier events restored their fortune and brought with them once more the freedom to worship Ormazd without persecution from Islam.

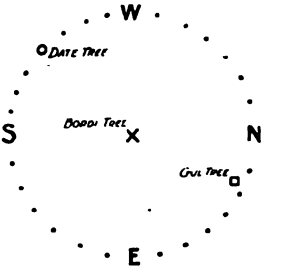
From the railway station of Sanjan, where kind attentions were shown by the native Hindu officials and several Parsi hosts, we started out at daylight on foot to visit the scenes of interest in connection with the place. The road led some little distance before we turned aside on the left to inspect the ruins of a Portuguese fort, within whose dilapidated walls the niches of a tumbled-down chapel for the soldiers of the garrison could still be recognized. From this point it was no long walk to the modern Sanjan—a hut village, as it might be termed, which strangely recalled the prescriptions of the Vendidad for cases in which it was found 'easier to remove the house' than to remove the body of the man who had died within it (Vd. 8. 1–3).

The principal habitation that attracted attention was an old Parsi rest-house (or Dharmaçāl, as the Hindus call it) built through the generosity of Vikaji Mehrji, of Tarapora, a place thirty miles from Sanjan. It formed part of a large square enclosure, measuring, perhaps, 400 or 500 feet in each direction. The entire compound was surrounded by a wall with gates opening to the east and the west. To-day no Parsis live there; the huts are occupied only by Hindus and Mohammedans, who show little evidence of thrift or welfare. Near by the enclosure, but not within it, there were the remains of an old altar, with a stone *liñga* and *yoni*, as signs of Çiva worship.

To the left of the quadrangular enclosure, just mentioned, stands the site of the old Parsi settlement of Sanjan. It is now perfectly desolate, an undulating field or plain about a quarter of a mile square. Everywhere there are remnants of bricks that had been used in building. The ground was strewn with countless small fragments, and there were scores of fine large brick slabs, more than a foot square, and four or five inches in thickness, that seemed to be very old indeed.

A short distance to the northwest was an old well, still in use, and a number of women were drawing water from it for washing purposes. Beyond this we crossed over some plowed land, that had been arranged for irrigation, but was still covered with fragments of bricks from the early settlement, and we passed a remarkable mango tree that grew like a banyan. The most interesting spot, and the special object of the visit, was now in sight.

The point to which our steps were directed was an elevation or hillock about an eighth of a mile off. Upon this, it is probable, stood the first Parsi *dakhma*, or Tower of Silence, in India. The slight eminence commands a good view. Somewhat to the south there is a grove of trees, and there are evidences near by of a water-course; but how old that particular course might be was uncertain, as streams in India change their beds so often. On the elevation itself the rough outline of a circle, with a central depression, could be made out without much difficulty. A rude diagram sketched in my note book looks something like this:



The quasi-circuit was made by the slightly raised earth around the depression; its circumference was almost 45 yards. There was no wall of stone or masonry standing, but one of our hosts, a middle-aged man, had still seen the wall standing. It had been pulled down and used for building purposes, he said. Tradition points to the spot as that of a Dakhma, and the people know it by that name. We were standing on the ground hallowed, no doubt, by the earliest Parsi pilgrims from Iran.

It is reasonable to suppose also that there must have been a *sagri*, or shrine, near by in the neighborhood, from which a lamp or sacred fire could send its ray over to the Dakhma. But such a spot was not easily identified. The native guide, quite picturesque in his red shawl or cloak, started off to a slight elevation, about an eighth of a mile distant to the northeast, where he said

there was once a building. It is possible that some *atash gāh*, or shrine for the fire, may once have stood there, as the place of worship for the old town. There were the self-same remnants of bricks here and there, which may have belonged to a temple even if the distance were rather far for the Sagri of the Dakhma itself. The site, at any rate, is of interest and Mr. Karkaria expressed hopes of some time being able to make excavations there, and in the neighborhood, with the possible likelihood of finding some remains connected with this earliest Parsi settlement in India. If any such finds could be made, they would necessarily be of interest to the modern Zoroastrians as adding further knowledge regarding the history of their ancient faith.

4. A Legend about Kālidāsa preserved at Ujjain.

UJJAIN, March 11, 1901.—In my short stay at Ujjain I collected some material in the way of tradition that may be worth working up in the future in connection with Sanskrit legend relating to Vikramāditya, Bhartrihari, and Avantī or Old Ujjain, as rendered famous also by Kālidāsa's name. On my visit it was my privilege to meet Mr. Keshao Rao Ramaji Thomrey, who is engaged in the revenue service and the duties of a magistrate of His Highness Sitoliya Sahib of the Gwalior State. He kindly acted as host and guide, and from him I gathered a number of legends that were current among the people or were familiar in his family. One of these about Kālidāsa may merit recording. I do not know that it has been previously reported in Western journals, but I may be wrong, as I have no books at hand to consult. At any rate I do not recall having read it, and I give the legend in brief, much as my courteous informant told it to me.

The story runs that Kālidāsa was fond of fish and enjoyed angling. He used to go to the bank of the river Kshipra (Mod. Sipra), near Ujjain to perform his religious ablutions and engage in his devotions. Then he would fall into meditation, and while meditating, as the story goes, he would sometimes drop a line or cord into the water. [Was this his *yajñopavīta?* An Izaak Walton would have known how to sympathize with him.] On the farther end of the thread was attached a hook (*baliya* in the Mālavi dialect of the modern Hindu). Thus our Kālidāsa would sit and catch fish—a doubtful employment for one of the Brahmanical caste! And on catching a fish he rolled it up in a *sola*-packet and placed the bundle under his arm.

Now certain rivals or enemies, on observing this, went and told King Vikrama that this Brahman Kālidāsa was indulging in fishing. Our poet was accordingly summoned into the king's presence, still carrying under his arm the bundle that contained his haul. The king, then, in a Sanskrit *çloka*, which I hope to secure, as it is current, although my informant could not recall it verbatim, asked our poet what that was which he had under his arm. In rhythmical verse Kālidāsa at once responded that it was a pious book. "But what," queried the king, "are those drops (i. e. water) that are falling from it?" With equal facility the bard answered in polished verse, "It is the ambrosia of the Veda," *vedāmṛta*. And, lo, by a miracle, when the bundle was unrolled the contents were found to be actually a book and no longer a dripping fish! Thus were our Kālidāsa's enemies put to confusion.

This new instance of the favor of the gods as shown to the child of the Muses, though 'not written in choice Italian,' as Hamlet would say, is preserved in Hindī and in Marāṭhi, and the metrical *çlokas* upon which the point of the story turns, are in Sanskrit. The legend is a good one and it seems worth adding to the lore connected with the Hindu Shakspere.

Yoga-technique in the Great Epic.—By E. Washburn Hopkins, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The elements of Yoga, even of Tantric Yoga, are indefinitely antique. Their combination into a formal system represents a late stage of Hindu thought. Asceticism, devout meditation, speculation, magical power, hallucinations, as means of salvation, are factors of Yoga to which it would be idle to assign a starting-point in the history of thought within or without India; but these ancient strands were not at first twisted together into the saving rope which, in epic metaphor, pulls up the Yogin's sunken boat.

The great epic speaks of Yoga-Çāstras and Yoga-teachers, that is, it recognizes systematic Yoga, which, indeed, is discussed as a philosophical system in many passages scattered through the later parts of the poem. But Yoga in this sense is not only quite unknown before the secondary Upanishads, but even the word itself is scarcely recognized in the older Upanishads, a fact which, considering the subject-matter of these treatises, is strong negative evidence against any very primitive technical use of the word. It is not till the Kāṭhaka Upanishad, ii. 12, *adhyātmayoga*, that we find any approach to the common philosophical sense of later times, and even in this Upanishad the formal equivalence of *yoga* and restraint (not of mind but of sense-organs, so that *yoga* is merely a "firm grip on the senses," *sthirā indriyadhāraṇā*, vi. 11) shows only the earlier conception of *yoga*-discipline, as corporal, though the passage as a whole with its parallel "immovability of the intellect," *buddhiç ca na viceṣṭate*, may be illustrated from the epic itself, when it describes the one who is *yuktaḥ, prākṛtim āpannaḥ*, xii. 307. 14 ff.:

sthirīkṛtye 'ndriyagrāmam manasā
(v. l. 195. 5, *piṇḍīkṛtye 'ndriyagrāmam āsīnaḥ kāṣṭhavan muniḥ*)
mano buddhyā sthiraṁ kṛtvā . . . na saṁkalpayate manaḥ
na cā 'bhimanyate kiṁcin na ca budhyati kāṣṭhavat.

A later Upanishad, the Māitri, vi. 25, explains *yoga* as the unification of the manifold, with a consequent cessation of all forms of consciousness.[1]

[1] The unique *upayoga*, ib. vi. 36, has, like *yoga* in the same passage, the meaning of joining.

Also the comparatively late character of the Çvetāçvatara is illustrated not only by its recognition of Sāṁkhya-Yoga but even by its use of *yoga* in ii. 12 and in vi. 3, *tattvasya tattvena sametya yogam.* The Tāittirīya Āraṇyaka refers to *yoga* only in its later chapters, withal only in the sense of restraint, *yoga ātmā* and *saṁnyāsayoga*, viii. 4 and x. 10 (Muṇḍ. iii. 2. 6). When the writers of this time wish to express their nearest approach to the later *yoga*, they employ *mānasa* (Mahān. xxvi. 1, explained by the commentator in this sense), while *dama* and *nyāsa* express the *yoga* of restraint and renunciation respectively. Thus in the Upanishad (Tāitt. i. 9) as means of enlightenment, always *svādhyāyapravacane*, with *ṛta*, truth, austerity, *dama*, and *çama* (quietness). The union-idea of the author of the Muṇḍaka is expressed not by *yoga* but by *sāmya*, i. 3.

It is certainly significant that in the oldest Upanishads the word *yoga* is almost unknown and that it appears in the simplest of its after-meanings as a philosophical word only in secondary compositions, while the word Yogin is not found till Māitri, vi. 10. The words used in the oldest Upanishads, expressing, one at a time, different functions of (later) Yoga, are non-technical, *dhyāna, medhā, manīṣā*, on the one hand, *dama, yama*, etc., on the other. Nor can it be said that the authors of these Upanishads were indifferent to method, for they take pains to explain the means of emancipation. Only their method is not one of counted breathings and postures but of mental activity alone, *manasāi 've 'dam āptavyam*, even in the Kāṭhaka; or the Ātman is apprehended by "truth, austerity, and right knowledge;" "by meditating, one sees Him, by means of clearness of knowledge;" or by meditation and the "restraint of renunciation," as it is said in the Muṇḍaka; while, still earlier, instead of the Yogin with his system we hear only of discussions of scholars, Ch. Up. v.; of the Muni with his "Veda-study, sacrifice, gifts, austerity, and fasting" (expressly given as the means of "knowing Him"), BAU. iv. 4. 22; or "purity and memory" and "silent meditation" (*mānna* from *manute*), Ch. Up. vii. 25; viii. 4. and 5. In a word, the later Yogin relies on *āsana*, the older Muni on *upāsana*. This and the doctrine of sleep-union with Brahman, the breaths, and the concomitant vein-theory belong to that background of Yoga afterwards worked out into a system.[1]

[1] This does not, of course, preclude the possibility that, besides knowledge of Ātman and of Karman, the "secret doctrines," *guhyā ādeçāḥ*, of the Munis contained much that was wrought into the subse-

But, as in contrast to the early Upanishads the epic treats of the formal system called Yoga, so it is conversant with technical terms afterwards elaborated into the scheme of Patañjali but foreign to early Upanishads. It is scarcely possible that when these works were composed there was none of the rigorous discipline which we associate with the name of that system, but it is evident that the technical nomenclature was still undeveloped. The counted suppressions of breath, the various forms of posture, the preliminary stages leading through an orderly succession of practices to the final consummation, were not yet become systematic enough to produce *termini technici* of the Yoga-Çāstram. If one might hazard a guess, it would almost seem as if the Yoga idea had been engrafted upon Upanishad literature from the "royal knowledge" which is demarcated from the Brahmanic wisdom of rites, ceremonies, austerities, and simple meditation. It is at least curious that Yoga is first found expressly named and emphasized in the Upanishads belonging to the Yajur-Veda, which is preëminently the "royal Veda," and that the Yoga epic draws particularly from the Upanishads of this school (*Great Epic*, p. 368). In Māitri, vi. 18, a late passage, is found the first mention of *prāṇāyāma*, and here "six-fold Yoga" suddenly appears complete (as in Amṛtabindu, çl. 6):

tathā tatprayogakalpaḥ prāṇāyāmaḥ pratyāhāro dhyānaṁ dhāraṇā tarkaḥ samādhiḥ ṣaḍaṅga ity ucyate yogaḥ.

Here, too, are first found the other technical words (contrast the simpler Yoga of Kāṭhaka vi. 6–13; Çvet. ii. 8–15 being later), *pratyāhāra*, *dhāraṇā*, and *samādhi*. Of these commonplaces of the epic, the Gītā has *prāṇāyāma*, iv. 29; *samādhi*, ii. 54; while the rest are found elsewhere. Only *dhyāna* and *tarka* are antique and their general sense in older passages is far from connoting, as in this passage, technical exercises (ib. 20, *athā 'nyatrā 'py uktam atah parā 'sya dhāraṇā, tālurasanāgranipīḍanād vāṅmanaḥprāṇanirodhanād brahma tarkeṇa paçyati*). This Upanishad

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quent system of the later Upanishads and Sūtra. For example, the Yoga-teaching in regard to the limited sphere of the breaths, one *prādeça* from the mouth, is given in Āit. Āraṇ. i. 2. 4. 21 (*prādeçamātra*), *etāvatā vāi prāṇāḥ sammitāḥ* (the *bāhyaviṣaya* is twelve fingers in the system). So there is a *saṁyamana* connected with breathing in Kāuṣ. ii. 5, but it is merely a restraint of speech, and breath in speech is a symbol, a simple "inner sacrifice."

recognizes a "six-fold Yoga," in contra-distinction to the "eight-fold Yoga" of the epic and Pat. ii. 29, as I have previously (*Great Epic*, p. 44) pointed out, an indication, not of course, conclusive but sufficiently significant, of the historical progression, secondary Upanishads,[1] epic, Patañjali's system.

Probably no competent scholar will question (a) the improbability of a perfected system of Yoga exercises being known to the first teachers of Upanishads, who ignore them altogether, the authors of Chānd., BAU., Āit., Kāuṣ., possibly Tāitt., and probably Kena, in which *tapo damaḥ karma* and the Vedas, respectively the foundation and the "limbs" (33), still reflect the older point of view without hint of special sub-divisions; (b) the gradual growth of the Yoga idea reflected in secondary Upanishads, Kāṭhaka, Māitri, Çvetāçvatara; (c) the further development in the epic and the recognized system.

The second form of Yoga was simply *dama*, control of sense and thought, intense concentration of mental activity acquired by quietism. It is this which is common to the practice of Buddhism and Brahmanism alike. The system is a refinement, due to physiological as well as psychological study, and as such it bears about the same historical relation to the older Yoga as the modern study of knee-kicks bears to Hamilton's metaphysics.

The place of the epic in this development is midway between the secondary Upanishads and the completed system. It has many of the system's *termini technici*, but, despite long elucidations, it shows no trace of others. It lacks the completion, but it stands near to the completed system.

The exercise of Yoga imparts magical powers. This, as an attribute of the Mahātman, is recognized in early Buddhistic tracts, but the attainment of such powers was lightly set aside by Buddha himself as not conducive to perfection, and the extraordinary fulness of detailed Yoga-technique in later Buddhistic works may be counted as a contemporary phenomenon with that in later Brahmanic literature. Nor are such powers the objective of earlier Upanishad teaching. They belong rather to the vulgar

[1] Their posteriority is based not only on content but on diction and style. Though the age of the different Upanishads is usually made greater, I fail to see any reason for believing that even our oldest Upanishads go back of the sixth century, or that the secondary Upanishads may not be as late as the fourth century. The later Yoga Upanishads may be as late as our era, for aught we know.

cult of magic, and as such are subordinated to the chief object of Yoga in the system itself. The epic on this point is explicit enough. It teaches that the attainment of supernatural powers is a stage of progress; but this stage must be left behind like other stages in the onward course of the saint. To linger in this stage is damnable.

Here the popular Yoga parts from philosophical Yoga. The ordinary saint or ascetic of the epic is acquainted only with Yoga as a means to the attainment of magical powers. All he cares for is to become a wizard of this sort in life and to continue after death as a superior god-compelling wiseacre, as dreaded in heaven as he is on earth. Every harmless exercise of magic is a Yogin's perquisite. His *prabhāva*, or magical power, it is that makes it possible for him to fly through the sky, for example in xii. 326. 8 (*na prabhāvena gantavyam antarikṣacareṇa vāi*). The technical term for this, *vibhūti*, occurs first[1] in an Atharvan Upanishad, the Praçna, v. 4, *somaloke vibhūtim anubhūya*, but it may lack the technical meaning here. It is unknown in earlier Upanishads, though familiar to the Gītā and other parts of the epic, as its synonym, *āiçvarya*, is also unknown to early Upanishads in this technical sense.

In the completed system, Yoga is often synonymous with *samādhi*. Here it is to be noticed, however, that all these technical terms, recognized as such in the epic, are still used in their ordinary meaning as well. For instance, *yoga* may be only a "means," and almost the same meaning attaches to *samādhi*, "arrangement" leading to some result, or, in effect, a means to it, as in xiii. 96. 12, *apanītasya samādhiṁ cintaya* (*yathā sukhagamaḥ panthā bhavet*), "excogitate some arrangement of this evil." So in the epic Sāṁkhya scheme, *ahaṁkāra* has its special sense, egoism; elsewhere it connotes "vanity" (*ahaṁkāraṁ samāviçat*, of Nahuṣa, xiii. 99. 10); *buddhi* and *manas* are equivalent terms (*nā 'sīd pālāyane buddhiḥ*, "he had no mind to flee," xvi. 3. 43; *yat te manasi vartate*, xiii. 114. 176);[2] *svabhāva* is nature, *prakṛti*, or character, as is *prakṛti* itself (*na çakyase svabhāvāt*, "it is not in your character," xviii. 3. 32); *vyakta* is both developed and clear (*asaṁskṛtam api vyaktam bhāti*, iii. 69. 8);

[1] Formal *vibhūtis* are enumerated in Āit. Āraṇ. ii. 1 (p. 181), but they are not those of the system.

[2] Compare xii. 235. 185: *tvayi me hṛdayaṁ deva tvayi buddhir manas tvayi.*

rajas and *tamas* are dust and darkness, as well as *guṇas* (*rajasā tamasā cāi 'va yodhāḥ saṁchannacakṣuṣaḥ*, vii. 146. 85), *guṇa* is a string, *saguṇa*, or philosophical characteristic, or common attribute, *rājño guṇāḥ*, "a king's attributes" (to be a father, a mother, Yama, etc.; xii. 139. 103, *vāiçeṣikā guṇāḥ*, "excellent attributes," vii. 5. 15 ; xii. 47. 70).

The most important of these words is *yoga* itself. It may be (like *prayoga*) a mere "means" or "appliance" to make a horse run, iii. 67. 6. Its radical meaning of fastening (to a thing) gives this notion of "appliance" as of "application," which still lingers in the epic words *dambha-yoga*, "tricky appliances," xii. 105. 25; *kṛṣi-yoga*, "application to agriculture," xiii. 83. 18, and inheres in the verbal form. Hence it may be translated by "devoted to," as in this sentence, which contains two of these technical expressions still used in a non-technical sense: *sa vedādhyāyane yuktaḥ tapas tape tato vedān niyamād vaçam ānayat*, "He was devoted to the perusal of the Veda and mastered them by austerity and strict discipline," iii. 116. 1. The rather unusual *abhiyoga*, instead of *yoga*, preserves this meaning, as in the metaphor alluded to above, xii. 299. 33 :

yathā bhāvā 'vasannā hi nāur mahāmbhasi tantunā
tathā mano 'bhiyogād vāi çarīram pracikīrṣati.

But the eventual meaning of *yoga* (*bhaktiyoga*, etc.) in a philosophical sense is not even devotion but union as disunion.[1] This is, indeed, the definition given in the preface to Patañjali's work, çl. 3, apropos of the Sūtra, *pumprakṛtyor viyogo 'pi yoga ity udito yayā*, "according to which, *yoga* is declared to be separation of Spirit and Prakṛti," or, in the *verba ipsissima* of the author, i. 2, *yoga* is *cittavṛttinirodha*, "suppression of mental activity,"[2] (compare Tejab. Up. viii.).

The first hint of this paradox that *yoga* is *viyoga* is given in the Gītā, ii. 48, where *yoga* is defined as *samatva*, equanimity, and in vi. 23, of the state (20) where thought is suppressed,

[1] In xii. 200. 11, *saṁyogavidhi* is interpreted by Nīlakaṇṭha as Vedānta, "the rule for union," of soul and Brahman.

[2] That is, of those whose mental activity has been given up in favor of spiritual insight, *jñānatṛptā nirvāṇagatamānasāḥ*, as the epic calls them who are freed from the faults of *saṁsāra*, xii. 195. 2. The Sūtra's *citta* is synonymous with *manas* in the epic, e. g. *loc. cit.* 12. and 13 : *evam evā 'sya cittaṁ ca bhavati dhyānavartmani, samāhitaṁ kṣaṇaṁ kiṁcit . . . punar vāyupatham bhrāntam mano bhavati vāyuvat.*

yatro 'paramate cittaṁ niruddhaṁ yogasevayā,
taṁ vidyād duḥkhasaṁyogaviyogaṁ yogasaṁjñitam,

but it appears in full in iii. 213. 33 :

taṁ vidyād brahmaṇo yogaṁ viyogaṁ yogasaṁjñitam.

After the aphorism just cited, Patañjali i. 7, gives perception, inference, and tradition, *pratyakṣa-anumāna-āgama*, as the *pramāṇas* or accepted authorities. On pp. 51, 90 ff. of my *Great Epic*, I have indicated the passages where the same proofs are given in the epic, but I have omitted one important passage, xii. 56. 41, where the Nyāya four are alluded to as authoritative: *pratyakṣena 'numānena tathāu 'pamyā 'gamāir api*, though I have given another like it (p. 93).

In the same work (p. 181) I have also noticed the fact that the "five faults" of the Yogin are *kāma, krodha, bhaya, nidrā, çvāsa*, and (or) *rāga, moha, sneha, kāma, krodha*, and (or) *kāma, krodha, lobha, bhaya, svapna*, according to different passages of this heterogeneous work, and compared the five *kleças* of Pat. ii. 3 (the "obstacle" *çvāsa* is in the list of i. 31). The epic also occasionally uses *kleça* in this sense: *yadi vā dhārmiko yajvā yadi vā kleçadhāritaḥ*, xii. 237. 6–7.[1]

There remains, to fulfill the promise given *op. cit.*, note to p. 182, an account of those Yoga principles with which begins the third book of Patañjali, and of which the first is *dhāraṇā*, defined as "confining thought to one place" (such as the tip of the nose); the second is *dhyāna*, etc.

Fixing the mind by looking only at the nose and gradually withdrawing the breath is alluded to in the Gītā, v. 27; vi. 13; viii. 10. The pseudo-epic knows of more than one *dhāraṇā*, however, as it knows other esoteric secrets of the later schoolmen.

But instead of following the course of the Sūtras in this sketch, I shall rather describe the Yogin and his practice as it is here and there elucidated in the epic.

After declaring that the Yoga system is identical with the Sāṁkhya,

ekaṁ sāṁkhyaṁ ca yogaṁ ca yaḥ paçyati sa tattvavit,

[1] The original order may have been *kāma, krodha, lobha*, and these three as a group may have preceded the five. In xiii. 141. 66, we read of "one who has overcome the three," as if it were a recognized group (*triparikrānta*, so explained by the commentator). Cf. v. 33. 66.

Yājñavalkya, in xii. 317. 5, proceeds as follows :

rudrapradhānān aparān viddhi yogān arimdama
tenāi 'va cā 'tha dehena vicaranti diço daça
yāvad dhi pralayas tāta sūkṣmeṇā 'ṣṭaguṇena ha
yogena lokān vicaran sukham saṁnyasya cā 'nagha
vedeṣu cā 'ṣṭaguṇinam yogam āhur manīṣiṇaḥ
sūkṣmam aṣṭaguṇam prāhur ne 'taram nṛpasattama
dviguṇam yogakṛtyam tu yogānām prāhur uttamam
saguṇam nirguṇam cāi 'va yathā çāstranidarçanam
dhāraṇam cāi 'va manasaḥ prāṇāyāmaç ca Pārthiva
ekāgratā ca manasaḥ prāṇāyāmas tathāi 'va ca
prāṇāyāmo hi saguṇo nirguṇam dhārayen manaḥ
yady adṛçyati muñcan vāi prāṇān Māithilasattama
vātādhikyam bhavaty eva tasmāt tam na samācaret
niçāyāḥ prathame yāme codanā dvādaça smṛtāḥ
madhye svapnāt pare yāme dvādaçāi 'va tu codanāḥ
tad evam upaçāntena dāntenāi 'kāntaçīlinā
ātmārāmeṇa buddhena yoktavyo 'tmā na saṁçayaḥ
pañcānām indriyāṇām tu doṣān ākṣipya pañcadhā
çabdam rūpam tathā sparçam rasam gandham tathāi 'va ca
pratibhām apavargam ca pratisaṁhṛtya Māithila

etc., etc.

"Learn now the special Yoga-practices depending on the breaths."

It is possible that *rudrapradhānān* does not mean "having breaths as the chief thing," but "having breaths and elements," *pradhāna.* The commentator takes the latter word as equivalent to *indriyāṇi* ("breaths and senses are the chief means for practicing Yoga"), and cites *utkramaṇakāle dehinam rodayanti* for the meaning of *rudra* as breath [cf. BAU. iii. 9. 4 ; Ch. Up. iii. 16. 3]. He also cites Sūtra [i. 34] for the *prāṇa* exercises, *pracchardanavidhāraṇābhyām vā prāṇasya,* defining the former as *recaka* and the latter as *pūrakapūrvakaḥ kumbhakaḥ,* that is "stoppage of breath preceded by filling" (Amṛtab. Up. 9–12).[1]

"With such a (Yoga) body (Yogins) wander wherever they will."

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[1] This is the *saṁdhi* of the two breaths, Ch. Up. i. 3. 3.

That is, they obtain the power of wandering through the air as the result of restraining breath. Compare Pat. Sūtra, iii. 42.

> "At the moment of dissolution, with the subtile Yoga (body) of eight characteristics, wandering through the worlds and renouncing (bodily) pleasure."

Or perhaps "obtaining happiness;" *vicaran* is used as if it were an absolute form, but this is probably a half-stanza out of its proper connection, as the passage is related to others (see below). This is added, according to the commentator, merely to encourage faith with the hope of rewards.

> "The wise declare in the Vedas that the Yoga has eight characteristics; none other they declare than the subtile one having eight characteristics."

The eight characteristic powers beginning with *aṇimā* are meant by *yoga aṣṭaguṇin* and by *aṣṭaguṇa* is meant *aṣṭāṅga* or the six practices referred to in Māitri Up. [vi. 18] with *yama* and *niyama* added, according to the commentator (the Sūtra, ii. 29, also substitutes *āsana* for *tarka*). It is quite possible, however, that both the adjectives refer to *yoga* interpreted in the same way, namely eight-fold Yoga-science.

> "According to the explanations in the Çāstra, they declare that the highest Yoga-practice of Yogins has a double characteristic (is two-fold), being either with or without characteristics."

The second of the two characteristics implied in the first clause is negative. There is a double Yoga-practice. One kind has and one kind has not certain characteristics. The epic not infrequently employs this *yogakṛtya* for Yoga-practice.

> "Just steadiness of the mind and restraint of *prāṇa*, and concentration of the mind and restraint of *prāṇa*. The form with characteristics is breath-restraint: the one without is mental concentration."

The two have in common *prāṇāyāma*, but the first is merely fixing the mind and the second concentrating it. Compare the common epic expression *ekāgramanas*. Steadiness is induced by regarding certain objects; concentration goes farther and produces a merging of the objective in the subjective ("Absence of distinction regarding thinker, thought, and thinking"). The

common *prāṇāyāma* is interpreted differently, however, according as it is united with *dhāraṇa* or with *ekāgratā*, in the former case being physical, in the latter being mental (restraint of senses). Compare Sūtra i. 35–41. The *ādhāras* or objects of contemplation, says Nīlakaṇtha, are sixteen as named in the Çiva-Yoga, beginning with the great toe and the heel. The last clause of the text literally carries *nirguṇa* over to the mind: "mind he should fix without characteristics," that is without activity, *nirvṛttikaṁ dhārayet, sthiraṁ kuryāt* (comm.). The stanza elsewhere appears in other form (below).

> "If one expels the breaths when no visible object is at hand there results merely an excess of wind; hence one should not begin the practice in this way."

The commentator says *adṛçyati* is equivalent to *adṛçyamāne mocanasthāne.* He cites (*Pavanayogasaṁgraha*): *prāṇāyāmena yuktena sarvarogakṣayo bhavet ayuktābhyāsayogena mahārogasamudbhavaḥ*, a verse which occurs in slightly different form in the Haṭhadīpikā. This is the principle of the *cittaprasādanam*, as explained in Sūtra i. 33 and 34. The *tam*, I suppose, refers to *prāṇāyāmam* understood. The "visible object" seems to refer to place on which the attention is fixed rather than time measured by prayer.

> "In the first watch of the night twelve compulsions, *codanāḥ*, are traditional; likewise twelve compulsions in the middle watch after sleeping."

Urgings is the literal meaning of *codanāḥ* (probably from the use of the verb in the Gāyatrī), but the commentator rightly takes the word to mean "restraints of breath." The parallel passage has *saṁcodanāḥ* (below).

> "The spirit should without doubt be exercised in Yoga in this way by one at peace, controlled, devoted to one thing, delighted with spirit only, and fully enlightened. In five ways expelling the five senses' faults, sound, form, touch, taste and smell, removing distraction and inertness"[1] [the text continues] "placing the whole group of senses in the mind, establishing mind in consciousness, consciousness in

[1] On *pratibhā* and *apavarga* as equivalent to *vikṣepa* and *laya*, see below.

intellect, and intellect in Prakṛti,—by thus proceeding in regular order, *parisaṁkhyāya*, (Yogins) meditate the sole, passionless, spotless, eternal, endless, pure, undeficient, firm Spirit, *tasthuṣam puruṣam* . . . the Eternal Lord, Brahman."

Then follow the "signs of the Yogins," *yuktasya lakṣaṇāni;* "the sign of peace," *prasāda*, as when one sleeps well; "as a lamp filled with oil in a windless place would burn, so is the *yukta*," etc., as given in full in my *Great Epic*, p. 109, etc.

It is scarcely possible that one acquainted with the Sūtra's use of *apavarga* and *pratibhā* in ii. 18 and iii. 33 could have written this passage. The commentator explains the former as *laya* and the latter as *vikṣepa*, having evidently in mind the passage in Māitri vi. 34, where it is said that the mind must be freed from these two. Such, too, is the regular meaning of *pratibhā* in the epic, phantasy, distraction of mind. On the other hand, the passage as a whole, upon which I have animadverted *op. cit.*, p. 108, shows a recognition of Yoga practices and Yoga-technique, especially interesting in the warning against *vātādhikya*, as proving that Yoga was already regarded, as in Haṭha treatises, as a means of health. On the union of heat and breath, compare xii. 187. 7: *prāṇān dhārayate hy agniḥ sa jīva upadhāryatām, vāyusaṁdhāraṇo hy agnir naçyaty ucchvāsanighrahāt*, etc. The Sūtra meaning of *apavarga* as emancipation appears in another passage, xii. 271. 31, *apavargamatir nityo yatidharmaḥ sanātanaḥ*. This is preceded by *saṁtoṣamūlas tyāgātmā jñānādhiṣṭhānam ucyate* (compare Sūtra ii. 32, *çauca-saṁtoṣa* etc.) and followed by *sādhāraṇaḥ kevalo vā*, perhaps for *sadhāraṇaḥ* (see below).

In xii. 241, the author gives a "complete *yogakṛtya*," which has much in common with this passage. It is the "highest knowledge" to unite intellect and mind and senses with the *ātman vyāpin* (compare Çvet. vi. 11). Instead of *ekāntaçīlin* the same verse as that above has *'dhyātmaçīlin* and it ends with *boddhavyaṁ çucikarmaṇā*, çl. 4, while the next çloka has *yogadoṣān samucchidya pañca yān kavayo viduḥ kāmam*, etc., giving the five faults (as above). Further, in the sense of Sūtra i. 37 (*vītarāgaviṣayaṁ vā cittam*): "One that is wise subdues wrath by quietness, desire by avoiding purpose, *saṁkalpa*, and one may cut off apathy, *nidrā*, by the cultivation of the good (*sattvasaṁsevanāt*), etc. One should also (çl. 8) honor fires and priests and bow before divinities; avoid lascivious talk and that

which is joined with harm, *hiṅsā* . . . one should seek Brahman; having concentrated (thought) and uniting, *kṛtvāi 'kāgryam*, mind and senses in the fore-night and after-night, *pūrvarātrāparārdhe ca*, one should fix mind on self (spirit)," *dhārayen mana ātmani*, 14. After this comes the subjugation of the senses, which one should constrain, *saṁyamya*, and "establish in mind," 17, and then follows the rule for observing these practices for "a limited time,"[1] to gain likeness with the imperishable; ending with parallels to Kāṭhaka iv. 13; Çvet. vi. 19–21; Gītā, v. 26, etc. (the other points are discussed in my *Great Epic, loc. cit.* and elsewhere), and with the following verses, which give a number of Sūtra technicalities (23–24):

pramoho bhrama āvarto ghrāṇaṁ çravaṇadarçane
adbhutāni rasasparçe çītoṣṇe mārutā 'kṛtiḥ
pratibhām upasargāṅç cā 'py upasaṁgṛhya yogataḥ
tāṅs tattvavid anādṛtya ātmany eva nivartayet.

In this list, besides the technical words with which the stanza begins, *upasargas* is the "obstacles" of Sūtra iii. 37 (referring back to *prātibhaçrāvaṇavedanādarçāsvādavartā* in 36), the faults of *saṁyama*, including *vārta*, smell as a celestial phenomenon (compare Çvet. ii. 11–12). The added warning, *anādṛtya*, may be compared with xii. 197. 7, where it is said that a Yogin who is set on "practicing mastery," *āiçvaryapravṛtta*, with a view to worldly results, goes to everlasting hell.[2] This passage also emphasizes (in 196. 18, *arāgamohaḥ*, etc.) the *vītarāgaviṣaya*, and gradual giving up even of *samādhi;* as in 196. 20: *dhyāne samādhim utpādya, tad api tyajati kramāt*, and here, too, *manaḥsamādhi* is paired with *indriyajaya* (9), though *manasy eva mano dadhat* (15) shows a general rather than a particular discipline. The student should sit on *kuça* grass and renounce objects, *viṣayāḥ;* and *japa* or muttering prayer is the means of fixing attention.

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[1] Six months, as stated afterwards (*Great Epic*, p. 45). The times of practicing are here three, *trāikālye* (241. 25). The exercises may be practiced on a mountain, in a deserted place, a temple, *cāitya*, cave, etc. The goal is *akṣarasāmyatā* (22).

[2] This, by the way, is not a common penalty, as hell is no more than purgatory to the Hindu. But in this case *sa eva nirayas tasya nā 'sāu tasmāt pramucyate*, "Hell is his, and from it he is not freed."

In my *Great Epic*, I have pointed out that there are three distinct epic versions of the same *Teaching of the Vedānta* in three several chapters. So here, besides the two related chapters already discussed, we find what is virtually a third version of the same matter in xii. 307, where Vasiṣṭha appears as the expositor of Yoga-kṛtya: "The wisdom-knowing men declare that meditation is two-fold, *dhyānaṁ dvividham;* meditation being the highest power of Yogins." Then comes the stanza above, but with a varied reading:

ekāgratā ca manasaḥ prāṇāyāmas tathāi 'va ca
prāṇāyāmas tu saguṇo nirguṇo manasas tathā,

"Concentration of mind and restraint of breath (are the two); restraint of breath is (meditation) with characteristics, mental (restraint) is without characteristics." Then follows 307. 9–10:

"One should be intent on contemplation, *yuñjīta*, all the time except at the three times, *trikālam* (when hunger and other natural necessities prevent). Being pure, one should by thinking divert the senses from their objects and urge the spirit (self) beyond the Twenty-Fourth (principle) by means of the ten or twelve *saṁcodanāḥ*, restraints of breath."

I have pointed out, *op. cit.*, p. 127, that this verse has been torn from its connection and repeated in xiv. 48. 4, and that the number of *saṁcodanās*, evidently the *codanās* of the passage above, is reckoned as twenty-two, *daça-dvādaçabhir vā 'pi caturviṅçāt paraṁ tataḥ saṁcodanābhir matimān ātmānaṁ codayed atha*, çl. 10. The following verses repeat the passages cited above (*pūrvarātre pararātre dhārayīta mano 'tmani*, 13; "as a lamp in a windless place," 18, etc.), some of the verses being in xii. 241 and some in xii. 317. The Anugītā version has *prāṇāyāmas* for *saṁcodanās*, and here Nīlakaṇṭha explains the numbers in two ways. But in xii. 307 he recognizes only twenty-two as the meaning of *daça-dvādaçabhir vā 'pi* and explains them as restraints caused by intentness, contemplation, concentration, recognition of duality, and eighteen stoppings of breath (according to Yājñavalkya), at the crown, forehead, brows, eye, nose, tongue, throat, heart, navel, penis, middle of body (fire-place), anus, thighs, knees, *citimūla*, calves, ankles, toes.[1]

[1] Compare the list, corresponding but with v. l., comm. to Kṣurikā Upanishad 7, which itself gives ten places. I record these eighteen as representing the complete Haṭha list (a shorter one of the text itself is presented below), though the number of stoppings is given by N. at 317. 9

The "embodied one going like sound," *çabdavat*, in xii. 217. 21–22, is brought through purity into a subtile form *vāirāgyāt prakṛtāu sthitaḥ*, by a practice described in several places besides Gītā vi. 13. In xii. 200. 16–22, it is called *viṣayapratisaṁhāra* (ib. 237. 33, expressed as *viṣayāt pratisaṁhāraḥ*, the "sign of the rule" in Sāṁkhya). One engaged in this "withdrawing from objects" fixes the five breaths on mind, mind on the two (chief) breaths, and holds the two breaths under control, *upasthitakṛtāu*. Then, looking at the end of the nose, by mental effort one brings the two breaths gradually between the brows. If it were not for the commentator, who supplies *paçyantaḥ*, it would be more natural to interpret: "By wrinkling the brows and by mental effort bring the breaths below the nose gradually to the nostril." This is a mere description and not a precept, and we are told that the next step was to put the spirit in the head by overcoming the spirit with a moveless body and fixed gaze. The culmination of the exercise is in a light breaking through the crown of the head and going to heaven. This was the "span-long spirit," *prādeçamātraḥ puruṣaḥ*. On an example of Yoga *jīva* and *videhamukti* in the epic, I have spoken, *op. cit.* p. 111. In regard to the theory that the fate of the soul depends on the part of the body it bursts through, compare *op. cit.* p. 186, on xii. 318.

Another account says: "If a man is one whose actions are done merely to sustain life, he becomes emancipated when, at the hour of death, he equalizes the three *guṇas* and then by mental effort forces the breaths toward the heart-canal," *guṇānāṁ sāmyam āgamya manasāi 'va manovaham* (sic), *dehakarmā nudan prāṇān antakāle vimucyate*, xii. 214. 25.

In ib. 17–19, the veins are thousands (ten chief) *dhamanyaḥ*, and the principal is *manovahā* (*Great Epic*, p. 35), like *cittavahā nāḍī* (comm. to Sūtra iii. 38). Precise is the account of the Yogin's "soul path" in xii. 185, where are described the fire in the head, protecting the body, and the accompanying breath, *prāṇa*, which here is the spirit itself. The breaths I have discussed,

(above) as sixteen, and here it is evidently part of an artificial interpretation, the true meaning being "ten or twelve," not "twelve plus ten." In regard to the loss of the ending, besides *catur* for the accusative (p. 371), cf. Roth, *Ueber gewisse Kürzungen*, etc., and Pischel-Geldner, VS. i. pp. 42, 116, all Vedic. But the late text and expressed *vā* give this example a peculiar interest (*saptāṣṭa* alone means "seven *or* eight," v. 160. 40). The Kṣurikā Up., çl. 3–4, has twelve mora-applications and uses *saṁcārayet* (for *codayet*, above).

Great Epic, pp. 36 and 172, and referred to this chapter with its "ten breaths" ("seven breaths," ib. p. 37, may be referred to in still another passage, *sapta mārgā vāyoḥ*, xii. 51. 6), of which the usual five are described (e. g. *vahan mūtraṁ purīṣaṁ cā 'py apānaḥ parivartate*). It touches on the Yogin's path, as well. The single *prāṇa*, bearing heat, descends to the anus and returns upward again, all the *prāṇas*, however, being collected (?) in the navel, *nābhimadhye çarīrasya sarve prāṇāç ca saṁsthitāḥ* (185. 14). Urged by the ten *prāṇas*, the veins bear food-essences all over the body, starting from the breast (*hṛdaya*, 15). Then follows, 16:

eṣa mārgo 'tha yogānāṁ yena gacchanti tatpadam
jitaklamāḥ samā dhīrā mūrdhany ātmānam ādadhan.

The corresponding passage, iii. 213. 17, has *yoginām* and *ādadhuḥ* in the last stanza and *pratiṣṭhitāḥ* in 14 (significant of the relation between the pseudo-epic and earlier epic, even in philosophy). The section thus recognizes the main duct of the Yogin's soul-path, the *suṣumṇā*, which is first known by that name in Māitri vi. 21, *ūrdhvagā nāḍī suṣumṇākhyā* (Kāṭhaka vi. 16; Praçna iii. 6; Tāitt. i. 6). Ordinarily, the simple rule is: *manaḥ prāṇe nigṛhṇīyāt prāṇam brahmaṇi dhārayet, nirvedād eva nirvāṇaṁ na ca kiṁcid vicintayet*, xii. 189. 16–17 (compare also the note below, p. 362, on *prāṇas*).

A more general description, in vii. 143. 34–35, says that one "offered his vital breath in breaths, sunk his eye in the sun; his mind in water; and became *yogayukta*. In a corresponding passage, ib. 192. 52, a man *sāṁkhyam āsthitaḥ* as well as *yogam āsthāya*, 49, takes a fixed posture, bending his head up[1] and his stomach out. The Yoga postures, *āsana*, Sūtra ii. 46, are alluded to again in xiii. 142. 8–10, described as *vīrāsana*, *vīraçayyā*, *maṇḍūkayoga*, between two fires. But in this case of popular *yogacaryā*, the Yogin is born again in the Nāga-world or as a king as the result of his piety (38–43), although he is supposed to have "put *dhāraṇa* in his heart." I do not know what the *maṇḍūkayoga* (*çayana*) is, but the commentator says it is

[1] So Vishnu stands (in xii. 344. 60) *ekapādasthitaḥ ūrdhvabāhur udaṅmukhaḥ*. The *mahāniyama* austerity recognized as "Vedic" consists in standing on one leg, "up-looking" and "holding up arms," with devoted mind for a thousand years of the gods (*ūrdhvadṛṣṭi*, *-bāhu*, *ekāgram manas*, *ekapāda*), xii. 341. 46–48.

explained in the Haṭhaçāstra.[1] These *yogas*, however, are in part only austerities of the older type, on a par with and grouped with *çītatoyāgniyoga* and *sthaṇḍile çayana*, çl. 10, which is also called a *yoga* in 141. 111, *sthaṇḍileçayane yogaḥ çākaparṇaniṣevaṇam* (such as are described also in iii. 200. 105 and often). The confusion shows clearly that the term *yoga*, applied inferentially to the *āsana* or posture of the regular Yoga practice, had also absorbed the meaning of *tapas*, so that any austerity, whether in *prāṇāyāma* exercises or not, was called *yoga*. Austerity is thus caused by *yoga*, xii. 153. 36. Both are the sign of *nivṛtti*, or renunciation for the sake of the soul of him who is *yukto yogam prati sadā prati saṁkhyānam eva ca* (xiii. 141. 83), whether he be an ascetic, now at the foot of a tree, now lying on the ground, now wandering about, or engaged on the technical *vīraçayyā*, etc. So far as I know, the term *āsana* is not an early technicality. It is not found in the first Upanishads, but is recognized (apparently) by the Gītā, where it seems to have the sense it has in the Kṣurikā and other late Upanishads and in Buddhistic language (e. g. Buddhacarita, xii. 117). The meaning of *dharmarātrisamāsana* in xiii. 141. 9 is unknown to me.[2]

Those recognized in the Anuçāsana as Yogins thus include ascetics of every sort, though they have formal divisions. "Beggars" of this class, *muktāḥ*, and *yuktāḥ*, are grouped in four species; the Kuṭīcaka and Bahūdaka are Tridaṇḍins, the former living alone in a hut and the latter visiting Tīrthas; the Haṁsa and Paramahaṁsa are Ekadaṇḍins, the former living in a hermitage, the latter being "freed from the three *guṇas*," according to Nīlakaṇṭha's explanation of xiii. 141. 89, where the names alone of the four classes are given with the statement that their superiority is in the order of their names.[3]

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[1] It is mentioned again in the list at xii. 304. 9 ff., where appear *vīrāsana*, *vīrasthāna*, and the *maṇḍūkaçāyin*, together with a long list of ascetic observances. Compare also *vīrayoga* xiii. 142. 57. In vi. 120. 86. etc., *vīraçayyā*, is merely a "hero's bed."

[2] It is the second of the five first mentioned duties called (as a group) *ṛṣidharma* (a Gauḍa v. l. is *dharmacakram sanātanam*). N. says *samyagāsana*.

[3] The following discourse treats of the Froth-drinkers, Phenapas (cf. v. 102. 6), Vālakhilyas (Munis, perfect in austerity, living in the sun's disc, the size of a thumb-joint, *aṅguṣṭhaparvamātrāḥ*), Cakracaras (divinities living in the moon), Samprakṣālas, Açmakuṭṭas, Dantolūkhalikas (141. 104; 142. 11), saints who husk rice with their teeth, etc.; cf. ix. 37. 48. The "thumb-long seers" adorn a tale in i. 31. 8.

The Yati, a term equivalent to Yogin, and expressing the sense sometimes given by the desiderative *yuyukṣat*, "one desiring to concentrate his mind,"[1] *jijñāsamāna*, "desiring knowledge," must be not only *nirmanyu* (as also *nirdvandva* and *nirveda*) but also *nirvāṇa*, studying not Çāstras but Om. It is added here that if a Brahman will not be a Yati, he should travel, *pravāsin*, for a home-staying priest gets no glory, xiii. 36. 14–16; so ii. 55. 14.

The *dhāraṇa*, referred to above, is the cause of Yoga-power. First the five faults must be cut off, and then, according to xii. 237. 3 (*chinnadoṣo munir yogān mukto yuñjīta dvādaça*), one should consider the twelve points of Yoga, namely :

deçakarmānurāgārthān upāyāpāyaniçcayaḥ
cakṣurāhārasaṁhārāir manasā darçanena ca,

that is, in a free version of the text's free syntax, he should see to the place (being pure), the acts (proper), his inclination (being restrained), the objects (of his thought or senses being propitious to Yoga-discipline), the means (that is, the posture as a means of Yoga, being correct) his (mind) renouncing (passion), his determination (in faith), his sense-organs (being controlled), his food (pure), his nature (subdued), his will (perfected), his system correct. Then comes the *dhāraṇās*. These are here trials of mental concentration of a severe sort. The faults are a net, *vāgurā*, out of which he must escape by cutting it, as in the passage above, and Dh. P. 370, and elsewhere, xii. 301. 15–17. So in xii. 299. 3–4 : *asaṅgaḥ çreyaso mūlam . . chitvā 'dharmamayam pāçam*, "The root of felicity is freedom from ties; on cutting the bond of wrong," etc. The cutting is done, of course, with the "sword" of Yoga equanimity, xii. 255. 7. It may be remarked, parenthetically, that the Yogin, besides laboring for the abstraction desired, also (naturally but inconsequently) prays for it: *manasaç ca samādhir me vardhetā 'har ahaḥ*, xii. 199. 13. But ordinarily the state is induced by restraint of breath, as in xii. 192. 13–14 (cf. xv. 90. 59): *prāṇadhāraṇamātraṁ tu keṣāṁ cid upapadyate, çrameṇa mahatā kecit kurvanti prāṇadhāraṇam.*

For *samādhi* is really gained only by intense effort and fine work. The terms are indifferently *samādhi* or *samādhāna*

[1] Also metaphorical : *atha saṁtvaramāṇasya ratham* (=*yogam*) *eva yuyukṣataḥ, akṣaraṁ gantumanaso vidhiṁ vakṣyāmi çighragam*, xii. 287. 13.

(though the latter is united with *manas* or *ātman*), *dhāraṇā* or *dhāraṇam*, e. g. *ātmanaç ca samādhāne dhāraṇām prati nidarçanāni*, "the indications of the spirit's concentration as regards fixing the mind," xii. 301. 30; *ātmasamādhānaṁ yuktvā yogena tattvavit*, ib. 35; *yogī dhāraṇāsu samāhitaḥ*, ib. 37.

The general preliminary process is the placing of the spirit in different parts of the body:

nābhyāṁ kaṇṭhe ca çīrṣe ca hṛdi vakṣasi pārçvayoḥ
darçane çravaṇe cā 'pi ghrāṇe cā 'mitavikrama
sthāneṣv eteṣu yo yogī mahāvratasamāhitaḥ
ātmanā sūkṣmam ātmānaṁ yuñkte samyag viçāmpate
sa çīghram acalaprakhyaṁ karma dagdhvā çubhāçubham
uttamaṁ yogam āsthāya yadī 'cchati vimucyate,

"A Yogin who, devoted to the great observance,[1] properly fixes his subtile spirit on these places, the navel, neck, head, heart, stomach, sides, eye, ear, and nose, having quickly burned away all good and bad actions, though they be like a mountain (in size), by applying himself to the highest Yoga is released, if he wishes."

In this passage, xii. 301. 39 ff., the *dhāraṇās* may be acts conducive to fixedness of mind, that is, besides this fixing of the mind, abstemiousness and subduing the passions. A passage to be cited presently gives another meaning to this term which perhaps applies here as well. According to the present exposition, the whole discipline of Yogin lies first in fixing the spirit on different parts of the body and then in dieting, in chastity, and in renouncing sensual pleasures of all kinds.[2] The Yogin eats but once daily, *ekāhāraḥ*, of dry barley or rice-grains and sesame, avoiding oil, *snehānāṁ varjane yuktaḥ*, and drinking less and less milk and water, which "after a long time" imparts Yoga-power, *bala*. Or he may avoid meat altogether (as an alternative means of acquiring power), *akhaṇḍam* (unusual word, also xiii. 75. 8) *māṁsam upoṣya*. The text continues: "By overcoming

[1] The *mahāvrata* may be the one described, or that called in the Sūtra (*sārvabhāuma-*) *mahāvrata*, i. e. *yamāḥ*, ii. 31 (30).

[2] The logical order is not closely kept. Subjugation of the senses is, of course, the "prior path," as it is called in xii. 195. 10, though here also *ekāgraṁ dhārayen manaḥ* (*piṇḍīkṛtye 'ndriyagrāmam*) precedes in the description. In xiii. 141. 8, it is said that "those who have subdued their senses must learn the Ātman, and then afterwards, *tataḥ paçcāt*, desire and wrath must be overcome."

desire, wrath, cold and heat, and rain, fear, care, breathing, *çvāsa*,[1] and human sense-objects, *pāuruṣān viṣayān* ("sounds pleasant to men," says the commentator), sensuality, thirst, (delights of) touch, sleep, *nidrā*, and sloth hard to overcome, *tandriṁ durjayām*, the wise and great Yogins, *mahātmānaḥ*, void of passion, *vītarāgāḥ*,[2] make glorious the spirit through the spirit (self), by means of meditation and study, *dhyānādhyayana-sampadā*.[3] Hard is the great path, *mahāpanthā* (like wandering through a forest on a way beset with robbers), and few hold it to the end, but he is called a great sinner, *bahudoṣa*, who entering the way, *yogamārgam āsādya*, gives up. Easy is it (in comparison) to stand upon the sharpened edges of razors, *kṣuradhārāsu* [compare Kāṭhaka, iii. 14, and Kṣurikā Up.], but hard for the uncontrolled to stand by the Yoga discipline of fixing the mind," *dhāraṇāsu tu yogasya duḥstheyam akṛtātmabhiḥ*, xii. 301. 54.

On the *dhāraṇās* occur the following stanzas, xii. 237. 14–16 :

sapta yā dhāraṇāḥ kṛtsnā vāgyataḥ pratipadyate
pṛṣṭhataḥ pārçvataç cā 'nyās tāvatyas tāḥ pradhāraṇāḥ
kramaçaḥ pārthivaṁ yac ca vāyavyaṁ khaṁ tathā payaḥ
jyotiṣo yat tad āiçvaryam ahaṁkārasya buddhitaḥ
avyaktasya tathāi 'çvaryaṁ kramaçaḥ pratipadyate
vikramās cā 'pi yasyāi 'te tathā yukteṣu yogataḥ
tathā yogasya yuktasya siddhim ātmani paçyataḥ

As this description of the would-be Yogin is prefaced by the image of him "eager to hitch his (mental) car," *rathaṁ yuyukṣataḥ*, the goad of which is "all the Tantras," *sarvatantrapratoda*, it may be suspected that we have a bit of real Tantrid literature before us,—only suspected, since *tantra* in the epic is synonymous with any manual of instruction, for example, *dharmatantra* is *dharmaçāstra*, but reasonably so, since, on the other hand, Yoga-Tantras are specifically mentioned in the pseudo-epic

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[1] The word used in Pat. Sūtra, ii. 49, for in-breathing, as opposed to *praçvāsa*, out-breathing, in *prāṇāyāma* (after correct posture has been taken). On the five, seven, and ten epic "breaths," cf. *op. cit.* p. 171 ff.

[2] Compare Pat. Sūtra, i. 37, *vītarāgaviṣayaṁ vā cittam*.

[3] Patañjali's definition of *niyamāḥ* also includes study, *çāucasaṁtoṣatapaḥsvādhyāyeçvarapraṇidhānāni*, ii. 32. This may be mere muttering of texts. The epic has a whole section on the rewards of the *jāpaka*, xii. 197 (also 196 and 198). Compare Pat. Sūtra, ii. 44.

besides Yoga-Çāstras.[1] The general sense of the verses is clear enough. The author gives the "speedy rule" of the Yogin's progress, until he "steps out, released, after passing beyond the Yoga-mastery," *yogāiçvaryam atikrānto yo niṣkrāmati mucyate*, çl. 40. The account thus naturally begins with the fixation of mental activity on one object, as does that of Patañjali, iii. 1, and as Patañjali reckons *prajñā* as "sevenfold," *saptadhā*, at ii. 27, so the author first reckons the fixations of mind as seven (*saptadhā* may be the original here also), to which he adds seven more, then gives eight "masteries" or "lordships," proceeds with the Yogin's "(victorious) progressions" (mental stages, as the commentator says, *vikramā anubhavakramāḥ*), and ends with their "fruit" and the Yogin's perfection, *siddhi*, "according to the (regular) Yoga-discipline." As appears from what follows (see below), the "progressions" or "stages" are the hallucinations, which arise before perfection but after the attainment of "mastery." The latter is exercised, according to the text, over the five elements, egoism, intellect, and Prakṛti (the regular *tattvas* of the system in their order), not according to the regular "eightfold mastery," of miraculous powers. But to what are the *dhāraṇās* applied? The commentator is inclined to omit Prakṛti, *avyakta*, and refer them to the other seven mentioned (that is, five elements, *ahaṁkāra* and *buddhi*), while the *pradhāraṇās* (*pra* as in *praçiṣya*, *prapāutra*, meaning connected but remote) apply to the "intercepted" applications, *vyavahitāḥ*, which are in fact one of the three divisions of knowledge in Pat. Sūtra, iii. 25, *sūkṣmavyavahitaviprakṛṣṭajñānam*. The distinction between *pṛṣṭhatāḥ* and *pārçvataḥ* is explained as "farther and nearer," namely, fixing the attention on the *maṇḍala* of the moon, sun, or pole star (as in Pat. Sūtra, iii. 26–28), or ("nearer") on the end of the nose, the brows, the throat-well, *kaṇṭhakūpa*, (as in Pat. Sūtra, iii. 30, *kaṇṭhakūpe kṣutpipāsānivṛttiḥ*, that is, "*samādhi* in reference to the throat-well results in averting hunger and thirst").

The use of *dhārayām āsa*, the constant expression of Yoga-practice, naturally led to the companion-noun being employed as

[1] The simplest meaning, however, is perhaps the best, and *tantra* would then be identical with the discipline alluded to in xii. 215. 21: *atha vā na pravarteta* (v. l. *prakāçeta*) *yogatantrāir upakramet; yena tantrayatas tantraṁ vṛttiḥ syāt tat tad ācaret.*

object of concentration. As such, though with doubtful application in regard to the numbers, it is correctly explained here, and this use is rendered still more certain by the following description of Bhīṣma's death, xiii. 169. 2 : (*tuṣṇīm babhūva*),

dhārayām āsa cā 'tmānaṁ dhāraṇāsu yathākramam,

"in regular succession he concentrated his soul upon the objects of concentration" (*ādhārādiṣu*, N.), when "his breaths, forced together, *saṁniruddhāḥ*, ascended, and his soul being forced together in all the resting places, after cleaving his head went like a meteor, *maholke 'va*, to the sky," as is added in 7, where *saṁniruddhas tu tenā 'tmā sarveṣv āyataneṣu* shows *ātman* as *prāṇas*. The *dhāraṇās*, then, are objects of contemplation. The earlier description, by the way, has here only *tūṣṇīm āsīt . . . yojyā 'tmānaṁ vedanāṁ saṁniyamya*, vi. 121. 56.

A "seven-fold province" of the "four-fold *samādhi*" is recognized by the commentator to Sūtra iii. 51, and very probably the first division made was meditation on the senses and two higher *tattvas*, egoism and intellect.[1] Seven may be used in the sense of "many," but *tāvatyas* is rather against this supposition.[2] In any case, the passage indicates a numbered arrangement of subjects of contemplation and seems to imply a full systematization. The *pradhāraṇās* might be "intenser," but if taken as remoter concentrations they would answer to the general terms of Pat. Sūtra, i. 39, *yathā 'bhimatadhyānād vā* ("objects without, such as the moon"). I believe, however, that the application of *pṛṣṭhataḥ pārçvataç ca* has been misunderstood by the commentator (and by the English translator),[3] in consequence of his

[1] On the Yogin's "subtile seven," compare *Great Epic*, p. 173. The epic's *bhuvanāni sapta* may be the "seven spheres" named in the system, xii. 187. 26. Seven over-worlds, *lokāḥ*, and seven under-worlds are traditional, iii. 3. 45 ; v. 102. 1 (*rasātala*).

[2] Curiously enough, Pat. Sūtra, iii. 16 to 29, gives seven and fourteen "near and remote" forms of knowledge resulting from a combination of *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna*, *samādhi*. They are not enumerated, however, but possibly they were in the mind of the writer who gives the seven *pradhāraṇās*.

[3] He is *not* that esteemed gentleman whose name appears on the title page and who did not understand English at all, but Mr. K. Mohan Ganguli. His translation (very useful in many ways) gives not only the substance of the text but sometimes the gist of the commentary as well, and even (as part of the Mhb.) Sūtras cited by the commentator, as in this instance, where Pat. Sūtra, iii. 1, *deçabandhaç cittasya dhāraṇā* (cited by N.) appears as a verse of the epic!

ignoring here the metaphor of which this verse still forms a part. For, as I have said, we have to do in this passage with an allegorical war-car, *yoga*, with which the would-be Yogin, when once equipped, hastens on to victory (compare the opening of the Amṛtabindu Up.). Hence the strange use of *vikramāḥ* for stages in his progress, and hence also the use of *pṛṣṭhataḥ pārçvataç ca*, to understand which, in connection with the metaphor, we must remember the position of the chariot-guards, *pṛṣṭhagopas* and *pārçvagopas*, or, as they are called in a similar description of another allegorical war-car, viii. 34. 45, *pṛṣṭharakṣas* and *paripārçvacaras*. For the van and rear and flank are technically known (adverbially) as *puratah*, *pṛṣṭhe*, and *pārçvayoḥ*, vi. 90. 37, while *yoga*, in camp-parlance, is hitching up or harnessing up. The preliminary description of this Yogin's chariot explains that *upāya* and *apāya* are its pole, the *apāna*-breath its axle, the *prāṇa*-breath its yoke, all the Tantras its goad, knowledge its charioteer, faith and restraint, *dama*, the fore-guard, *puraḥsara*, renunciation its more distant protector behind, *anuga*, meditation, *dhyāna*, its field of action, *gocara* (with other parts here omitted). Next follows the phrase cited above of the *ratham yuyukṣatah*, whose rule, *vidhi*, will be described, and then come the *dhāraṇā* verses; so that the whole passage should be translated: "The silent Yogin (in this mental chariot) acquires all the seven intentnesses and as many different fore-intentnesses (as his immediate guard), in the rear and on the flanks (respectively); (guarded by these) step by step he acquires what (is called) the mastery of earth and air, space and fluid (mastery), and that of light, of egoism, and mastery in respect of intellect; and also by another step (that) of Prakṛti; and so he beholds in himself success (victory) when thus equipped with Yoga-practice; and there comes next, in consequence of his equipment, *yogataḥ*, the following victorious advances" (stages).

These "victorious advances" are preliminary hallucinations (compare Çvet. Up. ii. 11), which show the spirit first as having a smoky appearance. Then appears a *rūpadarçana* of the spirit, "like water in space." Then this passes away and a fire-form become visible. After this the spirit appears in a wind-form, attaining wind-like (air-like) subtility and whiteness, *çvetāṁ gatiṁ gatvā sūkṣmam apy uta*.

The powers attained are then described. They have the fol-

lowing effects:[1] Earth-mastery gives one *sṛṣṭi*, the ability to create things "like Prajāpati;" air-mastery, to make earth shake with one's finger, toe, hand, or foot, this being the attribute, *guṇa*, of wind (air-element); mastery of space (or ether), the power to appear of the same color with space (ether) and conceal one self. Then one at will can drink up all *āçayāḥ* (of water, such as tanks, etc.); and become too glorious to be seen and have this glory diminish (as one will, by applying the mastery of the water-element and the fire-element, respectively, as is to be inferred). These five (elements) are thus brought into the power (of the Yogin), *vaçānugāḥ*, as he subdues egoism (compare Pat. Sūtra, i. 40, *paramāṇuparamamahattvānto 'sya vaçīkāraḥ*); and when he has subdued these six and intellect, *buddhi*, which is the soul of these six, then at last the *vyakta* self becomes *avyakta* and there appears in him "complete faultless illumination," *nirdoṣapratibhā kṛtsnā*. Such is the *siddhi*-process of the Yogin (ib. 16. 21–26). This *pratibhā* is the objective of the Yogin, till he surpasses mastery (as cited above); compare *atikrāntaguṇakṣaya*, cited *op. cit.*, p. 162.[2]

The hallucinations are referred to again, for example, in xiii. 73. 4, where it is said, "They who are firm in their observance, with their unpolluted mind even here on earth have visions of (heavenly) worlds appearing like dreams," *svapnabhūtāṅç ca tāṅl lokān paçyantī 'hā 'pi suvratāḥ*, i. e., in the *samādhi* or Yoga-concentration of their last hour. This is introduced as an argument to prove the existence of such worlds. Compare Pat. Sūtra, i. 38, *svapnanidrājñānā 'valambanaṁ vā*. By Yoga-power the Great Vision of the Dead is produced at the end of the epic story, where all the heroes appear "like visions in the night," *niçi suptotthitā iva*, xv. 31. 1.

Another passage says in regard to the hour of death that the Yogin, as he frees himself from the objective world, attains the original, *ādyā*, Prakṛti, just as rivers attain the ocean; but if not

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[1] No notice is taken here of the Yoga-power which is most named in Brahmanic and Buddhistic literature, memory of previous births. The epic elsewhere indicates its universality in having several forms of the names for it, *jātismaraṇa*, *jātismaratā*, *jātismaratva* (xiii. 109. 15).

[2] The rest of this passage relating to the twenty-five *tattvas* of the Sāṁkhya and Yoga has been discussed in my *Great Epic*, pp. 113, 117. On p. ib. 165, I have cited the 'impediments;' cf. Sūtra, iii. 87.

freed, he sinks down like a house built of sand in water, xii. 299. 34–35 :

yathā samudram abhitaḥ saṁçritāḥ saritoparāḥ
tathā 'dyā prakṛtir yogād abhisaṁçrīyate sadā
snehapāçair bahuvidhāir āsaktamanaso narāḥ
prakṛtisthā viṣīdanti jale sāikataveçmavat.

There is here, apparently, no recognition of Prakṛtilaya as a stage preliminary to perfected emancipation, as taught in Pat. Sūtra, i. 17 and 19 (the latter, *bhavapratyayo videhaprakṛtilayānām*). This verse has the Vedānta image of absorption, like a river in the ocean, and is preceded by the Mahāyāna image of the one who is perfect being unwilling to return to the further shore of the river he has crossed, ib. 31 :

na hy anyat tīram āsādya punas tartum vyavasyati
durlabho dṛçyate hy asya vinipāto mahārṇave.

The same section contains a passage on the *vītarāga*, çl. 10, which has several Sūtra terms, though it is doubtful whether they are technical; but I cite it, as it gives at least parallels to the image of the house (which is here one's own), of *bhrama*, as used above, notes the importance of *abhyāsa* (Sūtra, i. 32 has this term as applied to one principle to oppose the obstacles of *samādhi*), or constant practice, and mentions again the *kleças*, which is the Sūtra term for the usual epic 'faults.' The twentieth stanza, according to the commentator, whom (with Böhtlingk) I do not follow, employs *vistarāḥ* and *saṁkṣepāḥ* as if they were recognized equivalents of ceremonial and spiritual exercises; 299. 18–22 (20=37, repeated):

18, *yathā 'ndhaḥ svagṛhe yukto hy abhyāsād eva gacchati*
tathā yuktena manasā prājño gacchati tāṁ gatim
(Comm. *yogābhyāsaḥ kārya ity āha*)
19, *maraṇaṁ janmani proktaṁ janma vāi maraṇāçritam*
avidvān mokṣadharmeṣu baddho bhramati cakravat
20a, *buddhimārgaprayātasya sukhaṁ tv iha paratra ca*
b, *vistarāḥ kleçasaṁyuktāḥ saṁkṣepās tu sukhāvahāḥ*
c, *parārthaṁ vistarāḥ sarve tyāgam ātmahitaṁ viduḥ*
21, *yathā mṛṇālā 'nugatam āçu muñcati kardamam*
tathā 'tmā puruṣasye 'ha manasā parimucyate
22, *manaḥ praṇayate 'tmānaṁ sa enam abhiyuñjati*
yukto yadā sa bhavati tadā tam paçyate param,

"As a blind man in his own house goes by being intent and only by practice, so the wise man goes the right way by having an intent mind. Death and birth are interdependent; one ignorant of the rules for emancipation revolves about, bound like a wheel; but eternal happiness is his who has advanced upon the path of knowledge. Vast riches bring sorrow; *res angusta*, happiness. All wealth is for another's sake, but renunciation (of worldly things) they say is one's own happiness. As the lotus-stalk leaves the mud attached (to it), so a man's spirit is freed from thought. One controls thought and so makes his self (spirit) intent. When he gets intent he sees him(self) the highest" (himself as Ātman). The words in 20b, *saṁkṣepās tu sukhāvahāḥ*, embody the idea in Pat. ii. 42, *saṁtoṣād uttamaḥ sukhalābhaḥ*. The thought is common, iii. 2. 41–46 (ills of wealth).

The Yoga of meditation is fourfold, *dhyānoyogo caturvidhaḥ*, but just what divisions are meant are not apparent from the discussion. The commentator, referring to several Sūtras, e. g. i. 34, and 38–39, attempts to solve the problem; but the only fourfold division that can be got from the text is that of *dhyāna* itself with three accessories. The Yogin, it is said, should be free of *kleças* and *nirveda*, *anirvedo gatakleçaḥ*, and then, xii. 195. 15:

vicāraç ca vivekaç ca vitarkaç co 'pajāyate
muneḥ samādadhānasya prathamaṁ dhyānam āditaḥ

One is reminded of Pat. Sūtra, ii. 26, where complete *viveka* is said to be a means toward the rejection of the visible; while in ii. 33, *vitarka*, preceded (as is this passage by *kleça*) by *lobha*, *krodha*, *moha*, is questionable practices open to argumentation, which may be here implied (as power to avoid these questionable practices). At any rate this group of "consideration, discrimination, and argumentation, (which) are subsequent in the case of one engaged in *samādhi*," may be compared with the group in Sūtra i. 17, where *samādhi* is "conscious" because accompanied with *vitarka* and *vicāra* (as well as joy and egoism, *vitarkavicārānandāsmitānugamāt saṁprajñātaḥ*). The gradual growth of intentness, *tathā yogo pravartate*, is likened to the focussing of sunlight with a burning-glass, *yathā bhānugataṁ tejo maṇiḥ çuddhaḥ samādhinā ādatte*, xii. 299. 12.

One passage cited above in regard to the eight *guṇas* might be an allusion to the eight *mahāsiddhis* (or *siddhis*) called *aṇimā*, *laghimā*, *garimā*, *prāpti* (=*mahimā*), *prākāmya*, *īçitva*, *vaçitva*,

kāmāvasāyitva, indicated by Pat. Sūtra, iii. 45, *tato 'ṇimādiprādur bhāvaḥ* (cf. i. 40). These Yoga-powers are often alluded to as *aṣṭaguṇam āiçvaryam*, e. g. xii. 340. 55, and are called, in general, *bhūtis*, *vibhūtis*, *āiçvarya*, or *yogeçvaratva*, powers or masteries, and are grouped in the epic as *aṇimālaghimāprāptiḥ* at xii. 303. 16. They are attributes of God. In the invocation at xiii. 14. 420, the form is *aṇimāmahimāprāptiḥ*, but in Tantric lists the two last (as indicated above) are synonymous and C. 1015 has for *mahimā* the v. l. *laghimā*. The *vaçitva* of the Tantric list is in the epic *prabhaviṣṇutva* (*Great Epic*, p. 108). The form *prabhaviṣṇu* is applied to the (divine) lord of the treasury; *prabhaviṣṇuç ca koçasya jagataç ca tathā prabhuḥ*, xii. 290. 8. In ordinary language, the *āiçvaram balam* of a priest in Brahman, "unthinkable, undual," i. 78. 38. Further, instead of Yoga-practice, austerities alone are said, in xii. 161. 5, to give "mastery" (the old view), *āiçvaryam ṛṣayaḥ prāptās tapasāi 'va*.

Examples of these powers are given in the epic, one or two at length and of considerable interest.[1]

Through Yoga one becomes the size of an atom, *āiçvaryayogād aṇumātro bhūtvā*, and enters a lotus-stalk, xii. 343. 42. The power of the Yogin can be projected into the body of another and the latter be dowered perpetually with it. Thus when Vidura dies, his body rests against a tree, but he himself by Yoga enters the body of the king, who thus becomes stronger and is filled with Vidura's many virtues, while the sage, leaving there his power, "obtained the Sāntānika worlds," xv. 26. 26–29.

Another term for Yoga-power is *manīṣā*. By means of this, Cyavana, at xiii. 55. 19, hypnotizes his subject and makes appear a grove, mansions, jewels, etc., "as in a vision," ib. 53. 68 and 54. 15.

A very clear case of the exercise of hypnotic power (*cittasya paraçarīrāveçaḥ*, Pat. Sūtra, iii. 38) exploited as Yoga-power is that narrated in xiii. 40 ff. The sage here projects himself into the body of the subject by means of the subtile spirit, which is described as of the size of the thumb, xii. 285. 175 and 290. 12.

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[1] What a Yogin can do, in epic theory, has been told in my *Great Epic*, p, 108, etc. The present cases give examples in epic narrative. I have no example of some of the powers. But "making oneself many thousands," which is alluded to in the epic, *op. cit.*, and is recognized as *kāyavyūha* in the commentary to Sūtra, iv. 4, is in iii. 82. 23 a power of Çiva; who in iii. 88. 163 is a Yoga-lord.

The latter passage describes how Uçanas being *yogasiddha*, that is, possessed of the *mahāsiddhis*, projected himself into Kubera and so got power over him (by Yoga) to take away his wealth and slip away, *yogātmākena ruddhvā . . . yogenā 'tmagataṁ kṛtvā niḥsṛtaç ca.* This angered the Mahāyogin (Çiva), who tried to throw a weapon at Uçanas, but the latter through Yoga-power, *yogasiddhātmā*, appeared on the end of the weapon, *çūla*, directed against him, being able to do this in the form of knowledge, *vijñātarūpaḥ . . . tapaḥsiddhaḥ* (16 and 17).

To return to the hypnotic trance narrated in Anuçāsana. The pupil of a sage, being left in charge of his Guru's wife and finding her inclined to be too familiar toward a visitor, projects himself into her by Yoga-power, *yoga-bala*, and restrains her from following her own inclinations, making her change the words she intended to speak. He abides in her "limb by limb," like a shadow, like a person stopping in an empty house which he finds on his way, soiling her as little as a drop of water soils a lotus-leaf, standing in her like a reflection in a mirror, xiii. 40. 46, 47, 50–51, 58; 41. 13, 18.

Though the tale is supernatural, of the tricky deceiver Indra, *māyāvin*, 40. 43, it illustrates clearly enough the conception of Yoga-power. The subject is unconscious of the influence, *uvāsa rakṣaṇe yukto na ca sā tam abudhyata*, 40. 59. But the operator's eye is "fixed," for his spirit is away from it. His body is "moveless, like a picture," *dadarça . . . kalevaram, niçceṣṭaṁ stabdhanayanaṁ yathā lekhyagataṁ tathā.* The subject wished to rise at the entrance of the guest and politely say "who art thou?," but "being stiffened and restrained" by the operator "she was unable to move." The guest says, "Constrained by Anañga, Love, I come for thy sake, O thou dulce ridens," but she was still "unable to rise and speak," for the virtuous pupil "restrained her senses by the bonds of Yoga," *nijagrāha mahātejā yogena balavat, babandha yogabandhāiç ça tasyāḥ sarvendriyāṇi saḥ*, so that she was *nirvikāra*, unalterable, 41. 3–12. The process of acquiring influence is described with some detail. The operator sat beside the fair subject, before the expected guest arrived, and caused her to have virtuous desires, *samāsīnaḥ . . . upāsīnām anindyāñgīṁ yathārthe samalobhayat.* "Uniting, *saṁyojya*, the beam of his own eyes with the beams of her eyes, he entered her body, as wind does space," 40. 56–57. Her restrained state is described as due to confusion of mind induced

by Yoga-power, *yogabalamohitā*, 41. 13. The subject is unconscious of the power but not otherwise unconscious; for when Indra addressed her again, saying "come," she "wished to reply," but the operator "turned aside this word," and the word that actually escaped her (instead of being a welcome) was "Sir, what business have you to come here?" And since these words were prompted by the learned saint, they were spoken in excellent Sanskrit, *vāṇī saṁskārabhūṣaṇā* (instead of the patois she would naturally have used, ib. 15). But though speaking thus "under another's will," *paravaçā*, "she felt ashamed" (of her rudeness). After this the operator, "releasing the woman and entering into his own body addressed Indra," ib. 19.

The later pseudo-epic of the Anuçāsana and Anugītā (with the last part of Çānti) introduces us to some new words and ideas in connection with Yoga. Thus we have the remarkable phrase *niryoga*, reminding one of the Māitri and epic term (*Great Epic*, p. 41) *nirātman*, but used in a different sense. Personified Intellect, who had Yoga-power, *āiçvaryayogasthā*, came to Hari and he, *yogena cāi 'nāṁ niryogaḥ svayaṁ niyuyuje tadā*, xii. 350. 23, where *niryoga* means superior to *yoga*. In a preceding section, the equivalent of the *yoga āiçvara* of Gītā xi. 8, is found in the words, *āiçvaryeṇa prayogeṇa dvitīyāṁ tanum āsthitaḥ* (where the god, as in the Gītā, changes his form by Yoga-power), xii. 348. 47 (in 63, *nidrāyogam upāgataḥ*, sleep-*yoga*). Among the powers or masteries is that of knowing another's thoughts by Yoga. It may be merely a divine power to be able to do this by simple meditation, but apparently *dhyānam praviçya* in xii. 343. 48, which gives this power, is the equivalent of *yogam praviçya*, for it can scarcely be the other's thought that is entered here. Compare *dhyānam āyamat*, ii. 17. 27. Something quite new, again, is the wind called *parāvaha* (*paro vāyuḥ*), which, in the after-time, *anukāle*, followed by Death and Yama, "takes away the breaths of all animate creatures and in the case of those that have made proper investigation of the subject and are pleased with *dhyānābhyāsa* (i. e. Yogins) fits for immortality, O ye metaphysicians."[1] This is the wind "because of which, when one is overcome, he comes back no more," xii. 329. 49–52, one of the seven *Vaha* winds unknown

[1] The inconsequent vocative of a careless text.

to the frequent writers on breaths and winds in the earlier epic, but known to the end-maker of the epic and to the makers of late Purāṇas. The saint's departing soul becomes 'wind' and by Yoga-power, here *yogavīrya*, enters the sun, for "the highest course cannot be attained without Yoga," xii. 332. 52–53. The later pseudo-epic gives the rite in detail. One faces the east, sitting on *kuça*-grass, in a place that is level and clear; then "in accordance with the Çāstras and in accordance with rule, one who knows the proper order puts his soul in all the limbs, beginning with the feet, in regular succession, drawing in his hands and feet":

dhārayām āsa cā 'tmānaṁ yathāçāstraṁ yathāvidhi
pādaprabhṛtigātreṣu krameṇa kramayogavit,[1]
. . . pāṇipādaṁ samādāya.[2]

This was Çuka, a *mahāyogeçvara*, who thus 'overcame space,' *vihāyas*, and flew through the sky as wind, through the power of his *buddhisamādhāna*, attaining to 'success' and abandoning (apparently after he had attained success) the "four kinds of faults," xii. 333. 2. and 334. 1 ff. and 20–26. The process is in marked contrast to that of the *ūrdhvabāhuḥ samāhitaḥ*, "up-arm devotee," described in xii. 339. 2, and shows again the mingling of Çāstra rule in Yoga-practice with the naïf *tapas* or untutored asceticism, which is confounded with it. According to xv. 34. 9, the component parts of the wise (Yogins, N.) are eternal. The Yoga-practice of Vidura is that of an ascetic. With unkempt hair, naked, *digvāsāḥ*, he wanders through the woods, eating air and holding a stone in his mouth,[3] *vīṭā-mukhaḥ, vīṭām mukhe samādhāya*, xv. 26. 17 ; 37. 12; by which means of asceticism, *tapobala*, he won 'success,' *siddhi*, 35. 3, as well as by mental discipline, *yogadharma, dhāraṇān manasā dhyānād yaṁ dharmaṁ kavayo viduḥ*, 26. 30 ; 28. 16.

[1] Here *yoga* has the meaning of application (of the order), as in xiv. 21. 11, *vijñānayoga* is 'application of discrimination.'

[2] In *nirvikāraḥ samāhitaḥ*, xii. 330. 15; *samādhāya manaḥ* (after *yuñkṣvā 'tmānam*), xv. 37. 28 and 30, *samādhāya* is mental, but it is physical (of a stone) in the case cited in the next paragraph and should perhaps be read here.

[3] This is the usual form of common *tapas* (except for the unusual stone). Cyavana's form was soaking in water, *udavāsa*, xiii. 50. 3 ff., equally inconvenient for the practice of high Yoga in the Rāja-yoga sense. Compare Buddhacarita, vii. 17, where soaking is a *tapas*.

New, too, is the division of *samādhi* into seven, with a new meaning, found in connection with the "seven *dīkṣās*," that is, seven concentrations as exhibited in regard to the usual group of seven, viz., the five senses, mind,[1] and intellect. This occurs in the *tad vanam* allegory of xiv. 27. 2 ff., which, by the bye, seems to me to be the most probable explanation of the esoteric *tadvanam* found in Kena Up. 31, *tad dha tadvanaṁ nāma.* Here the one who tells the allegory of the great forest of life says, "after passing through the *mahādurga* I entered a *mahad vanam*," and is asked *kva tad vanam*, when he explains it as Brahman, which some look on as a great tree of life and some as a great forest, 48. 1 (compare 51, 9, *brahmavanaṁ nityam*). Likely as not, the Upanishad name was originally indicative of just such an allegory of *tad vanam brahma.*

It is, perhaps, unprofitable to discuss the still later development of the *prāṇa* theory in connection witb Yoga, and I will merely refer to what has already been said above on this point, calling attention to the theory (also held by Max Müller) that speech precedes thought, in xiv. 21, where word comes into being before thought, since mental activity depends on breath (speech) because of the priority of one breath over another (*apāna* makes *prāṇa* into *apāna*); together with the saderdotal character of breaths (as five priests); the peace-making character of *vyāna* alone, *çāntyarthaṁ vyānam ekam* (as often in late passages, neuter form[2]); the quarrel of breaths as to their relative superiority (imitation of older matter) and the judgment:

sarve svaviṣaye çreṣṭhāḥ sarve cā 'nyonyadharmiṇaḥ,

as given in xiv. 21. 10 ff., ib. 23. 22, and 24. 17. The whole discussion is the finale of a Yoga discourse in regard to the *āyatana* or resting-places of soul, where Brahman dwells with Soma, Agni and *dhīra* as veins (Ch. Up. viii. 6. 1), ib. 20. 9. Here the breaths are enclosed in pairs, thus: *udāna* is between *apānaprāṇāu* (it

[1] Sometimes mind and sometimes egoism. The five senses, *manas*, and *buddhi* are also the seven tongues of *agni vāiçvānara*, which is within all the breaths, xiv. 20. 19. But Yoga *āiçvarya*, mastery, is sometimes over the "six," senses and mind alone. This is a simpler phase, as is indicated by the companion-piece, *indriyadhāraṇam*, in iii. 211. 20 and 21 (the whole passage is from the Kāṭhaka Up.), the latter phrase here embodying "the whole Yoga-rule."

[2] Compare *idaṁ dhyānam idaṁ yogam*, xiii. 17, 19, and other forms cited passim in *Great Epic.*

is called *udāna* because of its *āyatatva* of the breaths); *prāṇa-pānāu* are between *samānavyānāu*, and the latter are each used up or absorbed, *līna* or *pralīna*, when that (*prāṇa*, presumably) is in the same condition.[1]

This passage contains two Yoga dogmas, first that, because he that has obtained 'mastery' can have no master (he is lord, *prabhu*, hence no one is his master, *īçvara*), therefore a Yogin can take any form he will, *anyānyāç cāi 'va tanavo yathe'ṣṭam pratipadyate*, xiv. 19. 24–25; and that the mind should be kept within (and not without, *bāhyataḥ*) on the following *āvasathas* or retreats, the teeth, palate, tongue, throat, neck, breast, and the (veins) *hṛdayabandhana*, ib. 37[2] (compare above, p. 350).

To the first of these may be added the conjoined 'masteries' implied in xiv. 16. 22–23: *kramamāṇaç ca sarvaçaḥ antardhānagatijñaç ca*, going at will and disappearance from sight, Yogin powers like those of the gods, for, as is said elsewhere, "the gods, too, have the mastery" (Yoga-mastery), *devāç cāi 'çvaryavanto vāi*, xv. 30. 21 (here division of self is referred to, *dvidhā kṛtvā 'tmānaṁ deham*, 30. 10 and 31. 14). Again, in xiii. 75. 12, it is said of the fruit of restraint (various *niyamas*, and *dama*):

yatrecchāgāmino dāntāḥ sarvaçatruniṣūdanāḥ
pārthayanti ca yad dāntā labhante tan na saṁçayaḥ,

"Yogins can go as they will, kill all their foes, and get what they wish," powers especially attributed to them in the Sūtra (the last being *kāmāvasāyitva*, 'doing as one will'). Another form of statement is found in xiii. 29. 11:

brāhmaṇaḥ kurute tad dhi yathā yad yac ca vāñchati,

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[1] In a previous chapter there is enunciated a theory of disease which has some interesting points. According to this, the *prāṇas* all over the body are restrained by wind which causes bodily heat. This heat then pierces the *jīvasthāna*, the place of the spirit, and to escape from this affliction the spirit leaves the body. The wind, *vāyu*, which is in the *prāṇāpānāu* breaths, goes up and abandons the body, leaving the man without breath, his senses no longer being sensible, xiv. 17. 15 ff. Here the word for senses (*indriyāṇi* in the phraseology elsewhere employed in the epic) is *srotas*, *srotobhir yāir vijānāti indriyārthān*, 24; the same word for senses as in Çvet. Up. i. 5, and indicative of late authorship in both cases. In i. 3. 152, *srotas* is aperture (*apāna*, anus); in xii. 185. 11, both canals and aperture.

[2] Ib. 22 repeats the *iṣīkā-muñja* phrase, Kāṭhaka vi. 17; and 66 gives again six months as the time for learning Yoga.

"a priest does how and what he will," making Yoga unnecessary. But some of a Yogin's powers surpass even a priest's. Thus in xiii. 31–32, Pratardana, owing to Bharadvāja's entering into him by Yoga, "*as soon as he was born became thirteen years old,* and recited the whole Veda and the Veda of the bow, attaining universal glory," *tejo lokyam.* But what the Yogin accomplishes as a perfected and supernatural lord, the ascetic[1] often accomplishes by secondary means. Thus Ṛcīka was a great ascetic, *mahātapāḥ,* and through his grace his wife and mother-in-law obtained children. But each had to embrace a tree and eat messes of food into which the sage had injected warrior-power and priest-power. By an unfortunate exchange of tree and food each woman got the child intended for the other, xiii. 4. 23–37.

The austerities performed by the divinities are pure *tapas.* Thus, for example, besides the instances already given, Aditi stands on one foot constantly to become Vishnu's mother (in the Devayuga), and Surabhī for eleven thousand years:

atapyata tapo ghoraṁ
vyatiṣṭhad ekapādena paramaṁ yogam āsthitā,

xiii. 83. 26–29. This is an especially good instance of the way in which the terms were interchanged, for finally this "Yoga" results only in the goddess pleasing Brahman, who grants her the boon she desires. Only the highest gods employ Yoga alone, as when Çiva becomes four-faced through *yoga uttama,* xiii. 141. 4.

There is here, in general, no distinction between the two forms. Just as in the case above, so in xiii. 29. 6, Matañga, an emaciated saint, stands one hundred summers on one toe, *aṅguṣṭhena,* all skin and bones:

sudurvahaṁ vahan yogaṁ kṛço dhamanisaṁtataḥ
tvagasthibhūto dharmātmā,

a passage worth citing also for its late use of *yogaṁ vahati,* 'endure.'

Although there is no mention by name of Haṭha Yoga, there is a clear indication of the difference (between this and what was

[1] The naïf anthropomorphizing of the Hindu does not shrink from imputing austerity and its potency to animals. Thus a parrot performs *tapas,* austerity, and by this means recognizes a disguised god, xiii. 5. 14. Even the trees in Hiraṇyapura "go about at will," *kāmacāriṇaḥ,* v. 100. 15.

later called Royal Yoga) in the account at xiv. 30 (where Nīlakaṇṭha in fact, points out the distinction). Here a pious fool who wishes to shoot his mind and organs of sense ("cast arrows on the seven," 26) finally becomes sage and exclaims (30):

aho kaṣṭaṁ yad asmābhiḥ sarvam bāhyam anuṣṭhitam,

"the folly of my attending to all the externals," where appears the same antithesis as that noticed above (*bāhyataḥ*).

The expression *mahāyoga* seems to be a (logical) derivative of *mahāyogin*, the latter being analogous to *mahātapāḥ*. Vishnu and even saints have the title, *mahāyogin*. In v. 68, *ad fin.*, Vishnu, his *ātmayoga* and *māyāyoga* are mentioned together; Vyāsa is a *mahāyogin*, xii. 334. 40. The sense is evidently not one who has *mahāyoga* but a "great Yogin." One who is a "great Yogin," however, must have "great Yoga," and this seems to be all the meaning of *mahāyoga*. In xvi. 4. 21, it is the first stage of Kṛṣṇa's demise, *mahāyogam upetya*, who in Gītā ii. 9 is *mahāyogeçvara*, and in xvi. 4. 26, *yogācārya*.

The compounds of *yoga*, other than those already mentioned, vary between the sense of (loose) attachment and (close) union. The latter is the meaning in *ātmayoga*, which is equivalent to *brahmabhūtasya saṁyogaḥ*, iii. 211. 15, union with the absolute. But *saṁyoga* may be a "sign of ill," if the 'union' is with the objective world.[1] The word *anuyoga* I have discussed in a previous volume of the *Journal*, xx. p. 24. It means 'fastening on,' and so in one place 'question,' in another, 'annoyance.' But no radical meaning is left in some compounds. Thus *mokṣayoga* is the equivalent of the later Rājayoga: "The Yoga-Çāstra says that one should restrain the senses, concentrate the mind on the soul, *mana ātmani dhārayet*, and, having passed through austerities, should cultivate *mokṣayoga* (the Yoga of emancipation). Such an one, devoted to one thing, *ekāntaçīlaḥ* (as above), sees soul in soul (self in self) if he can join soul to soul, *yoktum ātmānam ātmani*, beholding his soul as a form, *rūpam*, as if in sleep,"

[1] Thus, *saṁyogā viprayogāntāḥ* (life ends in death), xii. 331. 20; *yaḥ sajjati sa muhyati nā 'laṁ sa duḥkhamokṣāya, saṁyogo duḥkhalakṣaṇam*, xii. 330. 8. So the 'rope' already referred to may be a 'tie' instead of a means of salvation, withal in the same nautical image; for on the one hand it is a *nibandhanī rajjuḥ*, or tie that binds, and, on the other, an essential part of the ship that brings one safely across the river of life, *dharmasthāiryavaṭārakā* (*nāuḥ*), xii. 330. 37 and 39.

xiv. 19. 17–21. Here *yoga* has the same technical meaning as it has in *karmayoga* and *jñānayoga*, not literally, application to work or knowledge, but the kind of Yoga-science characterized by necessary external actions as compared with that characterized by discarding this in favor of psychical perfection, or in modern parlance Haṭha and Rāja Yoga, the latter occurring first in Gītā ix. 2, as *rājavidyā rājaguhyam*, while Haṭha comes as near to being differentiated in xiii. 14. 22 as anywhere: *jñānasiddhi-kriyāyogāiḥ* (*sevyamānaç ca yogibhiḥ*), where the Sūtra's *kriyāyoga*, ii. 1 (comm. to ii. 2), or practical Yoga is uniquely contrasted with higher wisdom, as in the next verse with *karmayajña* (*-kriyāyogāiḥ sevyamānaḥ*), the god worshipped with Rāja and Haṭha Yoga or with ceremonial sacrifices and Haṭha Yoga, as the words may, perhaps, be divided and understood. The expression *pradhānavidhiyogastha* in xiii. 14. 423 appears to me to be equivalent to *brahmayoga*, but this and the preceding compounds (above) can be interpreted differently.

Other points of the Yoga system and discipline, such as *suṣupti*, which are explained in the later epic, have been more or less fully treated in my *Great Epic*. The epic, for example, gives the complete Sāṁkhya scheme of Tattvas (with the addition of the Twenty-sixth Principle) as belonging equally to Saṁkhya and Yoga. On the subtile bodies, the colors of the soul, etc., see *op. cit.*, pp. 173, 179, etc. Especially interesting is the insistence on the physical (sensual) delights experienced hereafter by a Yogin, whose aim, according to other passages, should be renunciation of all of them. The whole section, xiii. 107 (with the preceding) should be read, to get an idea of the practical reward of asceticism, çl. 130 emphasizing the fact that it is not an ordinary priest but a Yogin who is blessed with carnal felicity, *sukheṣv* (here described) *abhirato yogī*. He rides around attended by self-luminous women, etc., and enjoys in heaven all the delights intensified which he renounced on earth. This teaching of asceticism is equivalent to saying, Be virtuous now, that you may sin hereafter. It is the result of blending two ideals. One appears from the time of the oldest Upanishads, Ch. Up. viii. 12. 3; Kāṭhaka, i. 25; and the older epic, where one is chaste on earth in order to enjoy a body in heaven, i. 46. 5; naturally enough there, but out of place in the perfected view of the philosopher, whose ideal (isolation or unity with Brahman) is incompatible with it.

For to the true Yogin of the epic such practices as are here held up as desirable are not only foolish but hellish (*niraya* is the fruit).

The technicalities of philosophical Yoga have perforce been drawn from the later epic. The earlier epic shows scarcely a trace of technical terms. Yet it cannot be maintained that the earlier epic does not offer abundant opportunity to divulge the science of Yoga or that the writers of this time were prone to hide their wisdom as a secret.

In Ādi, in the many tales of saints and ascetics, we are practically in a world not of Yogins but of Munis, who endure corporal pains and thereby attain power over the elements, get "divine sight," etc. The terms are largely formulaic, *tapas tepe*, *tapasy eva mano dadhe*, first of Vasiṣṭha, i. 99. 7 and 34, and then of Viçvamitra, i. 175. 47, the former having divine sight and the latter getting "success," *siddhi*. It is not *yoga* but *tapas*, austerities, that sends Yayāti to heaven, i. 90. 21, and the "doors of heaven," seven in number, include *tapas*, peace and self-restraint, but no Yoga is mentioned even when the *gṛhastho 'paniṣat*, the true teaching of one order, is expanded into a description of all the orders, as in i. 91. 3 ff., where the Muni is exhorted to be *nirdvandvaḥ*, *tapasā karçitaḥ*. Even the word *yoga*, except in the stereotyped *yogakṣema*, e. g. 92. 17, which has nothing to do with Yoga, is conspicuously absent from this and most of the descriptions contained in the old tales of saints, and it is not till we reach the tale of the "world-renowned impaled one," who was impaled (Hindu equivalent of crucified) between two thieves, that we find anyone of these devotees recognized as a Yogin. The last mentioned one, however, though a Mahāyogin is still merely an "up-arm silent" ascetic, i. 107. 3. The discipline is purely physical, restraint of tongue, *māuna*, excessive torment, *atīvatapas*, and "drying up the body" by various means, both in the case of saints and ascetic kings, i. 115. 24; 119. 7 and 34 (*ekāntaçīlin*). To propitiate the gods is a common reason for such discipline. Mental intentness occasionally plays a part. Devoted to severe austerities, Pāṇḍu stood on one foot all day with the most extreme concentration, *samādhi;* but all this was merely in order to propitiate Indra, *ārirādhayiṣur devam*, i. 123. 26. He is credited, however, with the possession of *tapoyogabala* (cf. *tapoyukta*, i. 209. 8) in i. 121. 37 (like *tapovīrya* in i. 75. 45, etc.). The Mahātapās,

or great ascetic, Droṇa, practices only austerities, *tapas*, in Ādi (130. 40); though when he dies, in the later expanded epic, it is as a perfected Yogin. So striking is the absence of the Yoga expression, that when Vyāsa tells his mother to live in the wood, practicing *yoga*, *yogam āsthāya yuktā vasa tapovane*, we are surprised only at the formula, *yogam āsthāya* (passim in the later epic), and not surprised that the advice to try *yoga*, as here expressed, was carried out by horrible austerities, *sughoraṁ tapas*, i. 128. 13, or in other words that *yoga* here is not philosophical Yoga at all, but only Vedic asceticism.[1] Gifts of the gods are sometimes free, as in Nala's case, but generally they are wrung out by austere discipline. Besides special favors, such as having a son or accomplishing some end that would not ordinarily necessitate a miracle,[2] these gifts are, in short, control of the elements (the power of going at will, implied in *kāmagama;* disappearing; taking any form, *kāmarūpin;* seeing what one will, etc.); as, for example, the first three in i. 31. 13; 100. 21; 89. 19; and the "seeing wisdom," *cākṣuṣī nāma vidyā*, bestowed by the Gandharva upon Arjuna, which is got by his *tapas* united with divine kindness.[3] But ordinarily, six months' standing on one foot was the *vrata*, "observance": *ekapādena ṣaṇmāsān sthito vidyāṁ labhed imām*, i. 170. 41–46. So in i. 86. 15, *dāntaḥ . . . niyatavāṇmanāḥ*, eating air, between fires, six months, on one foot, of Yayāti. The wonders of the Muni are the result (in these tales) not of *yoga-bala*, which is so conspicuous elsewhere in the epic, but of *tapo-bala*. Thus in i. 13, the Muni lives on air and has *tapo-bala;* in 40. 25, he is Mahātapās and, 41. 4, has *tapaso balam* (in 43. 8, his *vidyā-bala* revives a dead tree). Through this *tapas* comes the "knowledge divine," which presages death and sees the past as well as the future, 43. 8; 73. 25. Viçvāmitra, here, as in the passage above, has *tapas* only, wherewith he "burns his faults," 71. 37;

[1] A girl, in v. 120. 5 ff., on being brought out to elect a husband at her Election-ceremony, "chooses as husband the forest," and becomes an ascetic, with fasts, *dīkṣās*, and restraints, *niyamas;* all as *tapas* (*tepe*).

[2] In iii. 126. 19 ff., ascetic power, *tapovīrya* (as *brahman*) impregnates water, after the priest has "endured hard asceticism," *tapa āsthāya dāruṇam*, to make the water effective, in getting a son for a king.

[3] So Sañjaya sees and hears by *yoga-bala*, vi. 15. 5 ff. Simple "illusion" is what the Yogin's tricks are called when practiced by less holy experts (*vayam api . . khaṁ gacchema māyayā . . darçayema ca rūpāṇi svaçarīre bahūny api:* "we, too, can fly to the sky and appear in various shapes (not really but) by illusion," v. 160. 55–57.

and all 72. The technical terms of philosophical Yoga, when used at all, are without their later connotation, as in the case of *samādhi*, above, and in i. 75. 54: *samādhāya mano buddhyā*, "composing his thoughts by using his reason;" *caran dīkṣām* (as *tapas*, 45. 1, etc.[1]).

The great saint Vyāsa is a conspicuous exception to what has been said of the powers thus attained. The ability he possessed could not be got by study or *tapas*, i. 60. 4; but Vyāsa's case may fairly be regarded as exceptional. In other cases, all that a Yogin can do is done in the early epic by an ascetic,[2] and up to a certain point the two are one. Consequently the later technique carries on both the old discipline and its phraseology; but the earlier form knows only the ascetic side, and not even that in its Haṭha refinements. "Posture" is a chief concern of the Yogin, but to the Muni this technicality is unknown. Through the whole of the earlier epic I believe there is but one case even suggesting the Yogin "posture," whereas the tales are many which show that the Munis either stood, or hung themselves upside down, though the aim in doing so was attainment not only of power but of highest bliss. The conclusion seems to be inevitable that the whole tone, the practice and ideal, of these ancient tales of saints differs entirely from that of the pseudo-epic. The practice of Yoga in these tales of Ādi is quite unknown, and the word in its pregnant sense is almost lacking,[3] except when Hari is introduced as "lord of Yogins" and Çukra as Yogācārya, i. 34. 14; 66. 43, and in *vedā yogaḥ* in i. 1. 48. The term Mahāyogin is used, I think, only as indicated above (and then implying *tapas* only); but in ii. 68. 43 we find, in the miracle-scene, that Kṛṣṇā calls out, *Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa, mahāyogin*, ii. 68. 43; and Sanatkumāra is Yogācārya, *mahātapāḥ*, in ii. 11. 23; as in the late Tīrtha tale of the birth of the war-god Skanda, Kumāra is "lord of Yogins" and has *mahāyoga*, ix. 44. 33; 46. 96.

[1] So in iii. 165. 13, good conduct, *çīla*, and *samādhi*; iii. 177. 22, *tapodamācārasamādhiyuktās, tṛṇodapātrāvaranāçmakuṭṭāḥ*.

[2] In one point the teaching is contradictory. Great ascetics acquire the Veda without study, like Māṁdhātar, iii. 126. 33, *dhyānamātra;* but *tapas* of the hardest sort cannot teach it, ib. 135. 16 ff.

[3] It is common enough, however, in the sense of means, way, application, energy, and other untechnical meanings, as in compounds, throughout the epic, such as *kālayoga*, *svāduyogin* (but Kālayogin in the pseudo-epic, epithet, of Çiva), *kramayoga*, etc. Compare iii. 106. 28, *anena kramayogena*, "in this order;" 107. 70; *tapaḥsiddhisamāyogāt . . . kālayogena*, "by means of *tapas* in course of time."

In so far as the Vana has tales of this sort, the same thing is true there. Thus in the ancient Flood-story, the venerable Manu stands on one leg and hangs upside down[1] for ten thousand years, like other old Munis, iii. 187. 4 ff.; but this book, also a mixture of old and new, shows as well the features of the pseudo-epic. I am not entering here any vicious circle ; for I suppose, for example, that no good historian would deny that the chapter of Vana where the sun is adored under its "one hundred and eight" (twelve) names, one of which is Mihira, is a late chapter, as has been maintained by every competent scholar since Lassen. Here, for the first time in the epic, we come upon (*yogam āsthāya*) *prāṇāyāmena tasthivān*, and the Yogin sings in his Stotra to the sun, *tvaṁ gatiḥ sarvasāṁkhyānāṁ yoginām*[2] *tvam parāyaṇam*. This passage, iii. 3. 34–37, 61, is led up to by the first allusion to

[1] Thus: *ūrdhvabāhuḥ . . . ekapādasthitas tīvraṁ cakāra sumahat tapaḥ, avākçirās tathā cā 'pi netrāir animiṣāir dṛḍham; so 'tapyata tapo ghoraṁ varṣāṇām ayutaṁ tadā.* The upside-down form of asceticism is gradually fading out in India. A few years ago there was a colony of the Avākçiras sort in the grove by the lake in Ajmere. They numbered nearly an hundred and hung like bats from the trees, by the knees or by the ankles, in a position sure to destroy their brains if they had any. But in '96 only one or two were to be seen. So, too, the iron spiked-bed, a later form of asceticism, is now out of fashion. In the village beside the lake at Kurukṣetra, I saw one ascetic who showed his spiked bed, but his body did not look as if he had used it except for exhibition. There was also such a bed near Brahman's lone temple at Pushkara ; but the owner did not pretend to use it, and only kept it as a relic or for show. Ordinarily, mutilation, ashes, *çiçnabandhana*, and posing the arms are the modern methods, but they are sometimes more elaborate (keeping one leg behind the neck, etc.), not as Yoga, however, but as *tapas*, though, of course, the creatures call themselves Yogins. So far as I could discover, they have absolutely no notion of higher Yoga, and, indeed, most of them are nearly idiotic. They live on the charity of the poor, and are still dreaded by the powerful. One of these Yogins, in a capital city of North India, refused to budge when the Rāja wanted to enlarge his wall to cover the Yogin's stand, and the king was afraid to remove him, but built the wall all round him so that he sat in a sort of a brick well till he got tired of starving and came out of his own accord. The first *adhomukhas* were the Vālakhilyas. who hang thus from a tree, i. 80. 2.

[2] Compare iii. 149. 17 (*brahma*) *sā gatir yoginām parā . . . çuklo Nārāyaṇaḥ.* The later Puranic form Yogi, for Yogin, is found, by the way, only in this case at C. xiii. 916, where B. 14. 323 has *Sanatkumāro yogānām* (C. *yogīnām*) *Sāṁkhyānāṁ Kapilo hy asi.*

the *yogāiçvarya* of the gods, iii. 2. 80–81, and *yogasiddhi*, 82, to be gained by *tapas*, and here, too, we find mentioned *aṣṭāṅgā buddhiḥ*, iii. 2. 18 (which Nīlakaṇṭha refers to the eight parts of Yoga),[1] and *kriyāyogadvaya*, which may, but does not necessarily, imply Yoga. In the same way, we find that the saints, though in the same circumstances as those old saints who enjoy *tapobala*, are now furnished in the later tales with *yogabala*, as in the case of Kuvalāçva who gets Vishnu's own power and as "a Yogin by Yoga" extinguished a fire, iii. 201. 34; 204. 31.

Of course, one may say, How can one prove that the Kuvalāçva story is not as antique as that of Manu? But it surely implies less acuteness than unreasonableness to ignore the apriori improbability of this assumption. In short, there is a difference, and that difference hangs together with the other factors, marking the steps between asceticism pure and simple and the technique of philosophical Yoga. Each age absorbs the preceding, and we have *tapas* and *yoga* used as one as soon as the latter has become vulgarized. Thus the two are interchangeable in the Arjuna tales. After his brother teaches Arjuna the mystery, *upaniṣad*, of arms and the science of memory, *vidyā pratismṛtiḥ*, iii. 36. 30 and 37. 10–12, he says *tapasā yojayā 'tmānam*[2] *ugreṇa* (the same phrase in 91. 19), and in consequence (59): *tasthāu yogasamanvitaḥ*, which is repeated as *tapasy ugre vartamānaḥ*, 38. 22, and this *yoga=tapas* is as follows (23 ff.): Clad in grass, deer-skin, and supported on a staff, he ate, *samupayuktavān*, old leaves that had fallen on the ground; for one month eating fruit every three days, then every six, then every fifteen; then living on air and holding his arms up, without any support, and standing on his toes, *pādāṅguṣṭhāgradhiṣṭhitaḥ*;[3] so that the gods, ib. 34, did not know what he expected to gain, heaven, long life, or "mastery," *āiçvarya*. This hero was "in the greatest hurry" to be devout,

[1] Böhtlingk compares the "eight characteristics" of *medhā* in the description at iii. 45. 8–10: *sāṅgopaniṣadān vedān catur ākhyānapañcamān yo 'dhīte guruçuçrūṣām medhām cā 'ṣṭaguṇāçrayām . . . sthūlalakṣyaḥ.*

[2] Compare i. 89. 6, *tapasā yojya deham.*

[3] The same phrase in v. 186. 22, of a female ascetic, who indulges for twelve years in the same discipline, eating air for six months, and soaking herself in the Jumna, *uduvāsa;* all to become a man! In the silly exaggeration of the later epic, the girl Death soaks herself eight thousand years and stands on one leg and one toe for hundreds of billions of years, vii. 54, 17–25, to avoid her duty.

tvarayā parayā yuktas tapase dhṛtaniçcayaḥ, 38. 14. So in the Tīrtha tales, which, considering the attitude taken towards the Tīrthas by Manu and other early priestly writers, may be reasonably assumed to belong to a rather late stage of development, Vishnu gives the "eight-fold mastery," *aṣṭaguṇāiçvarya* to the seers at the Saptacaru Tīrtha, when he was praised with the seven *ṛcas*, iii. 82. 97; that is, the "mastery" is here a part of the paraphernalia of *bhakti;* and here also, but without any suggestion of its real significance, in iii. 83. 63 : *çvāvillomāpanāyane prāṇāyāmāir nirharanti svalomāni dvijottamāḥ, pūtātmānaç ca prayānti paramāṁ gatim*, "the Brahmans pull out their hair with suppression of breath and purified go the highest way," a passage hall-marked by the later form *adhigatvā* (the *antardhānam*, power of "disappearance" is "obtained by *tapas*," at Kapila's, or Kapiṣṭhala's, Kedāra, 72–74).[1] Here Vishnu is a Mahāyogin, iii. 90. 31. In one of these tales it is formally taught that the exercise of "mastery" diminishes the store of *tapas*. Thus, Lopamudrā wants luxuries and tells her ascetic husband that he is "able by his *tapas*, *īçaḥ tapasā*, to get all the wealth in the world," but Agastya replies, "That's as you say, but it would cause a diminution of the *tapas*," *evam etad yathā 'ttha tvaṁ, tapovyayakaraṁ tu tat*, iii. 97. 21–22.

Most of the tales here use *yoga* indiscriminately with *tapas*, "great *tapas* and *yoga*," iii. 106. 11; *Pārthās tapoyogaparāḥ*, iii. 164, 12; *pareṇa tapasā yuktāḥ . . yogasiddhāḥ*, iii. 163. 24. The ascetic wanders about with Yoga-powers, *yogāiḥ*, iii. 129. 7; "they that are *yogayuktāḥ* and *tapasi prasaktāḥ*," iii. 182. 90.[2] The last is in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa of the epic, which has several striking novelties, e. g. the "god-created original body," *ādiçarīra*, which is "for the more part destroyed" when, at once, one is born without intermediate non-existence in another womb, iii. 183. 76 ff. The passage xii. 298. 18, *Great Epic*, p. 39, allows "some time" between births. Another passage of the

[1] So in iii. 84, 58. a pure man obtains *jātismaratva*, at the Kokāmukha Tīrtha.

[2] This passage explains that above (p. 356) in regard to the *res angusta*: "Those that have vast wealth, *dhanāni vipulāni*, and are pleased with bodily comforts win earth but lose heaven; Yogins and devotees afflict the body and win heaven but lose earth; those who are pious and rich opportunely win both worlds; but those who are neither wisely devout nor rich lose both worlds."

Vana discourse repudiates asceticism as a means of holiness, but recognizes "sitting" as one of many forms of austerity:

na sthānakuṭikāsanāt . . na tu sthaṇḍilaçayyayā . . .
na co 'dakapraveçena na ca kṣmāçayanād api, etc.

The whole passage, opposing the asceticism of the early tales (though a case follows immediately, in 204. 2, of such an ascetic, standing on one leg, emaciated, all veins), Buddhistically teaches that: "They that do no evil with thought, speech, act, or intelligence, they are ascetics,[1] they are Mahātmans. Asceticism is not affliction of the body. Sinful deeds are not purified by fasting and other austerities. Virtue alone makes the pilgrim and the pious man, not living on roots and fruits, not silence and living on air, not shaving the head, not standing (e. g. on one leg) or sitting in a crooked position, not carrying matted locks, not lying on stony ground, not fasting, not worshipping fire, not immersion in water, not lying on earth. But one's faults, *kleçāḥ*, must be burned away by knowledge, for the body without the Ātman is but as a log of wood," *ātmanā viprahīṇāni kāṣṭhakuḍyopamāni ca* (*çarīrāṇi*), iii. 200. 99–109.

The same antithesis is found here as that presented by Buddha in the case of the asceticism of Munis (who are immersed in water and are undergoing other austerities) on the one hand, and the purifying knowledge preferred by Buddha himself, on the other. Buddha ends his contemplation of just such ascetics, Munis, *tapaḥpradhānāḥ*, with words almost one with the epic text just cited, *cittād ṛte kāṣṭhasamaṁ çarīram*, Buddhacarita, vii. 27, a poem which elsewhere recognizes the Yogin by that name, ix. 36. Besides knowledge, the epic passage inculcates as "divine fasting" morality and quietism, *indriyāṇām prasādena*, ib. 117 (cf. *dhātuḥ*, Kāṭhaka, ii. 20).

This is, I believe, the only place in the earlier epic where *āsana* may possibly be taken in a Yoga sense, and it is clearly part of a late interpolation, probably Buddhistic in origin. The nearest approach to it is in iii. 122. 2, (*tapas tepe*) *sthāṇubhūto mahātejā, vīrasthānena . . atiṣṭhata ciraṁ kālam ekadeçe . . sa valmīko 'bhavad ṛṣiḥ*, etc., where an ordinary old-fashioned

[1] So in v. 68. 9 ff., Vidura's Muni is a Yogin of the old type, though not so called. The comparison here, çl. 23, may be added to the end of the second note on p. 39 of my *Great Epic*: *çakunīnām ivā 'kāçe padaṁ nāi 'vo 'palabhyate, evam prajñānatṛptasya muner vartma na dṛçyate.* But in v. 69. 20, *jñāna* is recognized only as *dhruvaṁ indriyadhāraṇam.*

Muni's "heroic stand" has really nothing in common with the Yoga "posture," *vīrāsana.*

There is one passage in the Sanatsujātīya to which the commentator ascribes a recognition of *āsana*, postures, under the head of *aṅgāni*, which are made to include suppressions of breath and postures. I doubt, however, whether the word refers to Yoga at all, and certainly *yoga* as used in the passage does not mean Yoga. The writer describes how the good "extract the Ātman, *ātmānaṁ nirharanti*, from the body, like the *iṣīkā* from the *muñja*," and then the four *pādas* of *brahmacarya* are given, with the addition (v. 44. 7 ff., 16–17) :

kālena pādaṁ labhate tathā 'rthaṁ
tataç ca pādaṁ guruyogataç ca
utsāhayogena ca pādam ṛcchec
chāstreṇa pādaṁ ca tato 'bhiyāti;
dharmādayo dvādaça yasya rūpaṁ
anyāni cā 'ṅgāni tathā balaṁ ca
ācāryayoge phalatī 'ti cā 'hur
brahmārthayogena ca brahmacaryam.

Telang very properly takes no notice of the interpretation of *aṅgāni* as implying *āsanas.*

The Triçiras legend, which, when told in the pseudo-epic, xii. 343. 38–42, introduces, within the compass of a few sentences, not only the *āiçvaryayoga* ignored in the Udyoga parallel referred to below, but also Dadhīca as a Mahāyogin, is told in Udyoga without either of these words being used, and the whole account, offering every opportunity for *yoga*, speaks only of *tapas* and *dama* (while the corresponding narration in regard to Dadhīca in iii. 100. 21 is also without ascription of *yogitva*, not to speak of *mahāyogitva*, to that bony saint). It is not till the extension of the tale that *yoga* appears at all, and here Nahuṣa's claim, in the Bombay text, that he possesses *māhātmyayoga* (15. 21, *paçya māhātmyayogam me*) and greatness, not only does not imply Yoga, but is undoubtedly a later reading for the simple Calcutta version, 467, *paçya māhātmyam asmākam ṛddhiṁ ca.* The claim that Nahuṣa exhibits *yoga*[1] could apply only to what he

[1] The ascetic cat, in the Buddhistic tale of v. 160. 14 ff., has all the Muni's characteristics, but *yoga* occurs here only in the remark, *dvayor yogaṁ na paçyāmi tapaso rakṣaṇasya ca*, çl. 27, where *yoga* is combination (compatibility).

proceeds to do, *vimāne yojayitvā ca ṛṣīn*. He is *tapasvin*, not *yogin*, even in his own estimation, as is expressly stated both by himself and in Bṛhaspati's following account.

Apart from the Sanatsujātīya, 45. 18, and the late refrain of ch. 46, *yoginas tam prapaçyanti* (ch. 45 being, in all probability, an addition to the original, as Telang has shown, and the refrain being simply inserted between old Upanishad citations), Udyoga has few references to Yoga. There is a long collection of proverbs where something of the sort might be expected, but here there is only 33. 61, *parivrāḍ yogayuktaḥ*, "a wandering devotee," showing that no Yoga, in the system's sense, can be intended. Even in the warning against "cultivating one's *vīrya*," or ascetic power, "Like dogs they consume their own vomit" (who cultivate the 'power'), 42. 33, only the Muni is mentioned, not the Yogin. The Buddhistic admonition, *māunān na sa munir bhavati*, "Not through silence (alone) does one become a mute (ascetic)," ib. 60, is merely ethical. In v. 14. 12 ff., there is a scene where, in like circumstances, as already shown, the later epic stresses Yoga-power as the means by which one can creep into a lotus-stalk. But here the same thing is done without any such reference to *yoga-bala*. In one or two passages, however, *yoga* is mentioned by name: *āgamādhigamād yogād vaçī tattve prasīdati*, "By scripture-study and by Yoga he that has his senses under control becomes serene in truth,"[1] v. 69. 21 (*āste sukhaṁ vaçī*, Gītā, v. 13). So in v. 70. 4, *māunād dhyānāc ca yogāc ca*, Krishna (derived from *kṛṣi* and *ṇa* = *nirvṛti*) is called Mādhava (!) "because of his silence, contemplation, and Yoga."

But it is in the later proclamations of the supreme divinity of this Krishna, whom the ignorant are accustomed to despise as a "mere man," that, beginning with the Gītā, we find Yoga and Yogin employed with the greatest frequency and predilection. It may, perhaps, seem to some that these terms were held in reserve for just this employment; that the one and only author of the epic deliberately refused to speak of Yogins and Yoga-*bala* in the tales of the Munis of the first book; that he gradually introduced the substitution of *yoga* as an expression equivalent

[1] Or "in real being," though the simple meaning of truth is also common. Vishnu's power is expressed by this word and its negative, to indicate *māyā*, in v. 70 14: *atattvaṁ kurute tattvam*, "He makes the unreal (objective world) real."

to *tapas* in the hymns and Puranic material of the third book, and then at last revelled in the words *yoga* and *yogin* when applied to his new-made God[1] as revealed first in the Gītā and then in the hymn given by Bhīṣma vi. 65, where piled together we find, 47 ff.: *viçveçvaro vāsudevo 'si tasmād yogātmānaṁ dāivataṁ tvāṁ upāimi . . jaya yogīçvara vibho jaya yogaparāvara . . jaya lokeçvareçvara . . sarvayogātman . . na balaṁ yogayogīça jānīmas te . . yogam prāpsyasi tattvataḥ . . (tvām) anādimadhyāntam apārayogam . . pravadanti viprāḥ* (the following sections keeping up the strain with *yogād viditam, yogin, yogabhūta, dhyānayoga, yogavit*).

If we compare, or rather contrast, the praise of Krishna ascribed at ii. 38 to the same admirer, we shall find that, though the man-god is here also the All-god, *Kṛṣṇa eva hi lokānām utpattir api cā 'vyayaḥ*, 23, etc., yet *yoga* and *yogin* are as conspicuously absent from the earlier laudation as they are favorites in the later.

If we examine the use of one of these epithets, in the list of vi. 65, we shall find that *yogātman* is applied to the sun, when that god, to beget Karṇa, comes to earth and impregnates Pṛthā by touching her navel with Yoga-power, not in the earlier accounts of this marvel at i. 67 and 111 (compare also v. 145), but only in the secondary account narrated at iii. 307. 23 and 28 (ib. 306. 8, *yogāt kṛtvā dvidhā 'tmānam*), where the sun-god, "by Yoga" dividing his personality,[2] remains in heaven with one

[1] vi. 66. 187–20: *nā 'vajñeyo Vāsudevo mānuṣo 'yam iti prabhuḥ; yaç ca mānuṣamātro 'yam iti brūyāt sa mandadhīḥ, hṛṣīkeçam avajñānāt tam āhuḥ puruṣādhamam; yoginaṁ tam mahātmānam praviṣṭam mānuṣīṁ tanum, avamanyed Vāsudevaṁ tam āhuṣ tāmasaṁ janāḥ* (cf. Gītā, ix. 11).

[2] The division of personality as an attribute of Yoga may perhaps have begun with the sun, identified with the year, dividing himself into twelve parts. As a general thing, epic usage recognizes only the doubling or quadrupling of a god, or multiplication into many parts, each part, however, being the same and like the whole. In v. 186. 41, however, the poet makes a girl ascetic divide into two distinct entities. One half of her becomes a crooked river, because she practiced crooked (wrong) austerities, and the other half continued as a girl, which half afterwards became a man. Of the multiplication of gods I have given a case above (p. 358). Skanda thus quadruples himself, ix. 44. 87, *yogam āsthāya*, and again multiplies himself, 46. 92. But heroes possessed of magical "illusion" play the same trick without Yoga:

part and descends to earth with the other, when, being "all Yoga," he enters Pṛthā and controls her, without depriving her of her virginity, *yogenā 'viçyā 'tmasaṁsthāṁ cakāra.* The style here, especially in the following Pṛthā's Lament,[1] is a sufficient indication that this version is a late product, even without the parallels, which show that, according to the earlier tale, the sun-god on being summoned by *mantras* fulfilled his mission without recourse to hypnotism. The same *yogamūrti* characterizes the late account of Pṛthā's second conception (by Dharma) at i. 123. 6.

Young heroes dying in battle go to Yama's world or Indra's world, according to early battle-accounts, but when we get to the late (inflated) book of Droṇa we are taught that a boy-hero of only sixteen not only goes to the worlds he deserves by his bravery and moral character, but, with a sudden addition of verses in another metre, that "he has gone the way pursued by Yogins whose insight has been clarified by meditation; and he has assumed a lunar body," vii. 71. 12–17. Here in Droṇa there is a case of hypnotism exercised by the so-called Supreme God, who is acting as the servant ("a charioteer is only a servant") to the hero Arjuna. Both go to bed in separate tents and then Krishna, "applying Yoga," *yogam āsthāya yuktātmā*, vii. 79. 9 ff., causes a vision of himself to appear to Arjuna and hold a long conversation with him. In this, seventh, book, Krishna makes darkness in daylight by his Yoga-power, *yogī yogena saṁyukto yoginām īçvaro hariḥ*, vii. 146. 68 (in 202. 15, *yogo yogeçvaraḥ* is Çambhu).

The next book, apart from a reference to Droṇa's death when engaged in Yoga, viii. 9. 38, has, I believe, no reference to Yoga. This is originally an older book, showing, for example, both views in regard to the time of exile, an indication that it is composed of pieces of various dates. Droṇa recognizes only thirteen

"deceived by his glory him one they saw many," vii. 113. 13, of Sātyaki; also in 141. 7 (cases of "illusion" are found passim in accounts of demons and half-gods). A case of the sun, *dvādaçātman*, appearing in the twelve months as "dividing himself into twelve," *kṛtvā dvādaçadhā 'tmānam*, is found at iii. 3. 26 and 59.

[1] Pṛthā's Lament is a close literary parallel to Simonides Frg. 22. The expression used in invoking the god, *prāṇān upaspṛçya*, iii. 306. 10, does not imply *prāṇāyāma*, as Mr. Ganguli translates, but wetting the mouth, *adbhiḥ* being supplied, as in Manu iv. 143.

years of exile, implying Virāṭa, but Karṇa, while it recognizes this view in other passages, holds also the older view that the exile was only twelve years long, a view dating from the time before the intrusion of Virāṭa. Compare viii. 11. 27, "the arrow (of grief) would be removed, which has been mine for twelve years," (later on, "the grief of thirteen years," 68. 9; 74. 47; 91. 4). Çalya also reserves Yoga allusions for the late Tīrtha tales. Here Vyāsa and Asita Devala get their "greatest Yoga" (*mahāyoga* not being enough, it is now *parama* and *para*) simply by visiting a bathing-place, ix. 49. 23–24, as does a saint at 50. 7, *yoganityaḥ*. Here (a saint's) "supernatural power belongs to austerities but is born of Yoga," *dṛṣṭvā prabhāvaṁ tapaso yogajam*. The *prabhāva* or mastery here extolled is to disappear and to go and come with supernatural speed, to ascend to Brahman, and descend again, at will, 50. 23 ff. The union of the Yoga and *bhakti* idea is conspicuous here. Thus in the tale of the jujube-girl, another of the many ascetic women whose tales adorn the epic and probably reflect the influence of Buddhism, the divinity is pleased "with her faith, austerities, and ascetic rule," *bhakti, tapas*, and *niyama*, ix. 48. 30, and so grants her desires. Another, "a chaste Brahman woman," went to heaven on being *yogayuktā*, 54. 6. These stories are merely to advertise bathing-resorts, each one of which must have a miracle. This book contains a clear reference to Yoga regulations and Çāstra in the Tīrtha tale of ch. 50, already referred to. One saint, seeing that another's magic power was much greater than his own, took lessons of him, "learned the regulations, *vidhi*, of Yoga, according to the Çāstra, and, by performing all the practices, *kriyās*, according to rule, got the highest, *para*, Yoga, and attained emancipation," 50. 53–64 (practical Yoga has the technical name of *kriyāyoga*).

In the next two books I have noticed nothing of interest for this subject except the inversion in xi. 7. 23 of the image of the steeds and the chariot. In this figure, instead of the untamed senses being steeds to be held in check, the saint's chariot is dragged to victory by the steeds called Restraint, Renunciation, and Carefulness, controlled by the reins of good conduct, *çīla*.

A comparison of the passages cited above, before the remarks on the later battle-books, will show that there are several distinct cases where the same scene is without Yoga in the earlier epic, but full of Yoga ideas and expression in the later epic. What is the bearing of this and of the other facts adduced in this paper?

If the epic, as one whole, was composed at a date earlier than that to which we can possibly assign the third-class Upanishads, which first reveal acquaintance with Yoga-technique, how happens it that the pseudo-epic shows so intimate an acquaintance with that technique? Or if, irrespective of date, the work was originally one whole, why is it that some tales show the author to be well up in this technique, while others, although the scenic environment is the same, lack all application of the idea and even lack the word? And even if this difference between the early and late tales be belittled as much as possible, there still remains to be explained the almost complete absence of Yoga-technique prior to the Book of Peace, where it is fully recognized. One may say, that is the place to explain it, and so it is explained there and not elsewhere. But there are many parts of the early epic where didactic chapters have been placed, and moral and technical allusions of all sorts are scattered through the poem, but Yoga *prāṇāyāma*, Yoga *āsana*, Yoga-technique, in short, is scarcely recognized. Apart from the pseudo-epic, Yoga is either not recognized at all, its place being taken by austerity, *tapas*, or it is considered as synonymous with *tapas*. In the pseudo-epic, *tapas* is only a preparation for Yoga. Roughly speaking, there are three epic groups, old *tapas* tales and teaching, void of Yoga; tales and teaching in which *tapas* and *yoga* are synonymous, and both are merely a means of magic; tales and didactic masses in which is found an elaborated systematic Yoga philosophy.

But to most scholars, the pseudo-epic's familiarity with Yoga-Çāstra, Yoga-teachers, and Yoga-technique will of itself probably be sufficient to settle the question whether the date of the Book of Peace is nearer 500 A. D. or 500 B. C. The examples of technique given in this paper (especially the use of *dhāraṇā*) place the technical part of the pseudo-epic on a par chronologically with the late Kṣurikā rather than with the older Upanishads.

Notes on the Çvetāçvatara, the Buddhacarita, etc.—By E. Washburn Hopkins, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

I. The Çvetāçvatara.

The historical difficulties in regard to the authorship of the Çvetāçvatara have been fully recognized by Professor Deussen. But the net result of his analysis in the *Sechzig Upanishads*, p. 288 ff., is meagre and in part contradictory. The Upanishad shows "an individual stamp," but it "cannot be the work of a single author"; it may "possibly have grown from an individual foundation to its present shape at the hands of a school," but "all critical combinations are invalid if they do not maintain the unity of composition." Individual authorship Deussen sees in the first and sixth chapters, where there is adverse criticism of strange views; but the whole Upanishad cannot be the work of a single author on account of the lack of orderly sequence of thought and on account of the mass of citations. Metrical looseness and irregularity look to the same conclusion.

It is allowable to suppose a school-authorship, and for this reason only we may assume the probability of this sectarian Upanishad having been amplified. None of the reasons given for this belief, however, seems to me of great weight. A certain "lack of orderly sequence of thought" is quite characteristic of Upanishads in general, and the later Upanishads all have masses of citations. These factors indicate at most the possibility of the enlargement of a previous tract, but they do nothing to prove the existence of a school; though, on the other hand, the existence of a school and the supposition that the present essay is a school-recension is not excluded by anything in the Upanishad. In short, we can learn from internal evidence absolutely nothing about the authorship. We may properly say concerning this Upanishad only what may be said concerning most of the Upanishads, namely, that it was composed by somebody and perhaps retouched by somebody else. That is all we really know or are ever likely to know about the authorship.

But if Professor Deussen's various views in regard to single or combined authorship are open to revision merely in the point of emphasizing our eventual ignorance rather than weighting insufficient data with the burden of proving something, his very decided view in regard to the relative age of the Upanishad cannot be dismissed so easily. Certain arguments adduced in order to range the Upanishad properly are, indeed, unexceptionable. Thus, the date of the Çvetāçvatara is set after that of the old prose tracts and also after that of the Kāṭhaka. So, too, it is admitted by Deussen that the Çvetāçvatara has a fuller Yoga system, as well as Vedānta ideas not found in earlier works, especially evident in the expressions *māyā* and *māyin*.

But in his further critique it is very difficult to agree with Professor Deussen. His point of view appears to me to be historically deficient, and since in what follows lies the chief argument for the relative age of the Upanishad, it is of great importance to examine closely into the matter, for the question not merely affects the date of one small tract, but virtually includes the problem of the relative age of two philosophical systems.

The first criticism of Deussen's argument must be that it is based on a presumption. Because he holds that the "fine and fruitful thinker" who is the poet-author of this Upanishad is a Vedāntist and therefore cannot be a sectary, he finds it "hard to understand the author's predilection for the personifying interpretation of the divine" (*Sechzig Upanishads*, p. 289, last paragraph). For this reason he fails to understand the use of Rudra as *īçāna*, and thinks that *çiva* must be a mere adjective, which is here "on the way to become stereotyped as the name of the highest god."

This is the historical knot which Professor Deussen has not untied but cut. All the rest follows according to what might be foreseen: "Especial difficulties are found in determining the relation [of ÇU.] to the Sāṁkhya system" (instances are given of the use of Sāṁkhya terms in the Upanishad). Then Professor Deussen continues with the remark: "How can one explain the inner relation with the Sāṁkhya? For in the Upanishad are monism, theism, idealism; in the Sāṁkhya are dualism, atheism, realism." That is to say, we must somehow reconcile Sāṁkhya terms with Vedānta, and we are next shown how to do it. We must suppose that the author of the Upanishad did not know the Sāṁkhya

system, for otherwise, "if the author had known the Sāṁkhya system and recognized the system as opposed" (*als gegnerisches System*, p. 291), "his work would not have contained passages which could be, and actually have been, interpreted as if Kapila were the highest sage and the Sāṁkhya the way of salvation."

Logically accurate as this view may appear, it is in fact erroneous. That it is held by the scholar whose specialty is the history of Hindu philosophy shows how necessary it is for the Sanskritist not to ignore the most important record of the phases of Hindu thought subsequent to the chief Upanishads. Professor Deussen's view is that "Vedānta was distorted into Sāṁkhya and thereby destroyed." In accordance with this opinion he interprets Kapila and Sāṁkhya at v. 2 and vi. 13, as "the red being" and "testing," respectively, despite the fact that, in the latter passage, Sāṁkhya-Yoga is a (necessary) *deistic* means of salvation:

tat kāraṇaṁ Sāṁkhya-Yogā-dhigamyaṁ
jñātvā devam mucyate sarvapāçāiḥ,

translated as

"Wer dies Ursein durch Prüfung und Hingebung
Als Gott erkennt, wird frei von allen Banden,"

to be translated,

"On recognizing as (a personal) God, attainable by the Sāṁkhya-Yoga (system), that (apparently impersonal) First Cause, one is freed from all bonds."

The whole argument is deistic and it is stated in the phraseology familiar to students of the epic, where *īçaḥ kāraṇam* is urged, as, for example, in xiii. 14. 230, and in 222–23, where exactly the same idea is expressed: Çiva is the lord known as the *kāraṇam*, First Cause, who is worshipped by Yogins with Yoga (and other forms of worship). There is a first cause, but salvation requires that one should recognize it as God, as consistently taught not by the atheistic Sāṁkhya system but by the Sāṁkhya-Yoga, which is deistic.

Ignoring the historical use of the word, Professor Deussen concludes that the word *sāṁkhya* as here used proves that the author did not know it "as the name of the system opposed by him"; whence his grand conclusion that the Sāṁkhya system was developed from tendencies which may be seen in the Upani-

shad, and conversely that the Sāṁkhya system was not the base of the Upanishad.

It will be seen at once that the whole difficulty lies in Deussen's insistence on the (quite incorrect) idea that Sāṁkhya-Yoga implies atheism, or, in other words, that it is identical with bare Sāṁkhya. Reasoning in this way, he cannot admit that an idealist would applaud a realistic system, and so on through his three antitheses, monism-dualism, theism-atheism, idealism-realism. The sufficient answer to this is that the deistic interpretation of Sāṁkhya, which is implied in Sāṁkhya-Yoga, does away with all these antitheses. Sāṁkhya-Yoga is monistic, theistic (i. e. deistic), idealistic. What force there is in his argument is thus lost. His view is based on a misinterpretation of a philosophical expression. Strangely enough, while arguing as to the views men could not have reconciled, Deussen overlooks the palpable fact that what he assumes to have been an impossibility actually existed. And not only did this (reconciliation of views) exist, but it existed as the result of the constant attitude of great bodies of religious philosophers, who employed exactly the same terms and meant exactly the same thing as did the author of the Upanishad. They were monists, theists, idealists, but to them the divine sage above all sages was Kapila, the system they named as such and expounded was the Sāṁkhya-Yoga (in full), Yoga or Sāṁkhya (for short). So in the Upanishad. There is no such opposition as fills Deussen with incredulous distrust. The system is not (as he thinks must be the case if *sāṁkhya* means Sāṁkhya) first lauded and then implicitly repudiated, because the "system" is not what Deussen assumes it to be. He gives a meaning to Sāṁkhya-Yoga which, so far as history shows, it never had.

The objection to Deussen's view may be formulated as follows. It is unhistorical because it misinterprets the data of philosophical phraseology in three points:

1) The use of (*dhyāna*)*yoga* at i. 3 is a factor in the argument intended to prove both that (Sāṁkhya) *yoga* at vi. 13 is merely *Hingebung* and that the latter cannot refer to the system later called Sāṁkhya-Yoga. The epic parallels refute this. Not only do we find *yogadhāraṇā* and *jñānayoga* in Gītā viii. 12, and xvi. 1, respectively, but the very term of the Upanishad, *dhyānayoga*, at Gītā xviii. 52, and in xii. 195. 1, where *dhyānayoga* is fourfold; but

2) The same epic, nevertheless, praises Sāṁkhya as a deistic interpretation [1] of the First Cause and speaks of the Sāṁkhya-Yoga exactly as it is spoken of in the Upanishad ; while

3) The epic unquestionably recognizes under the name of Sāṁkhya and Sāṁkhya-Yoga an elaborated metaphysical philosophy furnished with all the Twenty-Five (respectively Twenty-Six) Topics of the completed System. As I have shown in my *Great Epic*, p. 99, Kapila's name is used to uphold systems radically different to what is called Kāpilam. But the claim for identity comes from the Yoga side, and ib. p. 125, I have cited a passage that presents just the view of the Upanishad, namely, "The wise declare that the Twenty-Fifth Principle higher than Intellect is a personal Lord identical both with Parusha and with Prakṛti, which is the opinion of those who being skilled in Sāṁkhya-Yoga seek after a Supreme." Another epic passage shows, as cited (*op. cit.*, p. 134), that Yoga is based on Veda and on the Sāṁkhya as a precedent system ; and finally, ib. 137, I have cited a passage where the Sāṁkhya-Yoga is said to teach that (*avyakta*) Prakṛti is derived from the Great Spirit or Highest Soul (*puruṣa, ātman*) who is its base ; or in other words, as in the passage cited above from the Upanishads, a personal god, according to Sāṁkhya-Yoga, is the First Cause.

We all owe too much to Professor Deussen's toil and ability as displayed in the *Sechzig Upanishads* for anyone to wish to exploit a mere misinterpretation. But in this regard his historical exposition of the course of Hindu philosophy seems to be at variance with the facts, owing to his cleaving to the word rather than to the connotation of the word, and his view is too important to let pass.

When the epic philosopher speaks of *adhigatvā brahmāṇam* instead of *adhigamya brahma*, no historical student would hesitate to say that this is late Sanskrit, and *brahmam* for *brahma* (supported by the commentator) in Çvet. Up. i. 9 and 12 should be taken in the same way, as well as the characteristic late use of optative for indicative present in v. 5, and the various technicali-

[1] That is, it makes no difference in some passages between Sāṁkhya and Yoga, though in others it makes the former atheistic. The primitive Sāṁkhya explained in ch. xii. of the Buddhacarita is atheistic.

ties, *vyakta*, *guṇas*, *kleças*, etc., scattered through the work (given by Deussen, p. 290) and showing acquaintance with the terminology of the system. Now if, in addition, the Upanishad uses the name as it is used in the epic (where the name surely connotes a modification of Sāṁkhya), and if its conception of a Lord-system, with *deva* and *īçāna*, god and lord, is just that of the epic, then how can one hold that the author is still in the *Vorgeschichte* of the system, unless he claims that the completed system represented in the epic is still *Vorgeschichte* also, which is inconceivable in the case of a reasonable historian?

Then follows the question of *māyā*, which is the second weak point in Deussen's historical reconstruction. He reads into the early *māyā* the nihilistic interpretation of Çaṁkara. I suppose there is no people without a belief in the vulgar *māyā*, delusion, which Deussen seeks to show was radically one with philosophical *māyā*, illusion. There have always been gods that changed their shape and disappeared and played tricks, but we have no more right to attribute to the early Hindu *māyā* of this sort the notion of philosophical idealism than we have to assign such a belief to the Greeks on the strength of divine tricks and metamorphoses. Much more striking, on the contrary, is the utter absence of this notion in the first expression of idealism. Is there anything in the early Upanishads to show that the authors believed in the objective world being an illusion? Nothing at all. There is *moha*, and *saṁdeha*, confusion of mind in regard to truth, but neither right view nor *moha* holds that the objective is not real. The objective exists, just as much as the subjective; it is a part of the subjective. This is in fact the great discovery, not that the world is *māyā*, illusion, but that it is real not in being the ultimate but in being a form of the subjective. The former view is *moha*, delusion (materialism), the latter is the highest truth. Surely, if it had been suspected that the objective might be interpreted either as real or as illusive phenomenon, we should find the subject broached. But there is no higher teaching in the Chāndogya than that the infinite is Ātman, that Ātman is all that is; whatever is is soul (self) and out of soul as part of soul comes the whole world, vii. 25–26: *ātmāi 've 'daṁ sarvam*, *ātmata eve 'daṁ sarvam;* and, as I have shown in the work cited so often already, *māyā*, even in the epic, is clearly absent from much of the Vedānta speculation, which often recognizes no illusion whatever. That *māyā* in the Upanishad is used in the philosophical sense,

there can be no doubt. But this is only another reason for assigning the work to a pretty late date and drawing the conclusion, to which weight is lent by all historical data, that the order of philosophical development was cut into by the early Sāṁkhya, and was, if (as I have suggested, *op. cit.*) we use the term Ātmanism for Vedānta without *māyā* (that is the idealistic interpretation of the universe found, for example, in the Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upanishad), first Ātmanism and later Vedānta as a system, between which, however, struck in the Sāṁkhya and Sāṁkhya-Yoga; this particular Upanishad, like most of the epic, representing that late disorganization and eclectic combination which it would be temerarious to interpret as primitive unorganization. The great value of the Çvetāçvatara Upanishad lies in its showing that with the first formal appearance of (*māyā*-)Vedānta the ancient Sāṁkhya had already passed into the Sāṁkhya-Yoga stage of deism. There are, in fact, centuries between the Vedānta (Ātmanism) of the unsystematic tracts we call Upanishads and the Vedānta-System, as explained by the great *māyā*-philosopher. The constant epic attempts to refer back "Vedānta" to Sāṁkhya or Sāṁkhya-Yoga as the norm, show clearly which was the historical prototype as far as systematic exposition is concerned, though this of course does not affect the relative priority of the chief (or only) Vedānta idea as expounded in the Upanishads.

Finally, in regard to Kapila at Çvet. Up. v. 2, the same criticism is to be applied to Deussen's interpretation. That Kapila, as may be admitted, is here Hiraṇyagarbha also, is to him conclusive evidence that (in a Vedānta tract) the "founder of an opposed system" could not be proclaimed as divine. So he thinks it possible that "the whole Kapila" (idea) is based on this passage. But how is it in the epic? Is not Kapila there the founder of the system, is the system not a Vedānta form of Sāṁkhya, and is not, finally, this same "Kapila" identical with Hiraṇyagarbha? There was felt, then, in this point also, no such incongruity as Professor Deussen registers as evidence against the divine Kapila being the founder of the system. Kapila is both a god and a seer, born of the sun, *sūryāj jāto mahān ṛṣiḥ, vidur yaṁ kapilaṁ devam*, Mbh. v. 109. 18. And again: "The Sāṁkhya teachers call me Kapila; I am called Hiraṇyagarbha in the Vedas," xii. 340. 68; repeated below, preceded by the statement that "Kapila is also called Prajāpati." Therewith are to be

compared the two statements at xii. 350. 65 and xii. 218. 9, which declare, respectively, that the Yoga system was promulgated by Hiraṇyagarbha and that the Sāṁkhyas call Kapila "Prajāpati," whereas in the Upanishad he is "seer:" *yam āhuḥ Kapilaṁ Sāṁkhyāḥ paramarṣim Prajāpatim.* So of Kapila in the Buddhacarita, xii. 21, it is said, *Prajāpatir iho 'cyate,* when he is introduced as the founder of the system. His regular epic title is seer or great seer, *mahān ṛṣiç ca Kapilaḥ,* for example, in xiii. 4. 56, where (like Yājñavalkhya, 51) he is said to be of Kṣatriya descent, though elsewhere an incorporate divinity.

It is to be observed, moreover, that the Upanishad, in mentioning Kapila as a great seer without directly ascribing to him the doctrine of the tract, is quite on a par with the Buddhacarita, where the teaching is suddenly interrupted in its metaphysical flow by the intrusion of "Kapila with his pupil," without any direct statement that Kapila's doctrine is here set forth: (20) "Those who think about the soul call the soul *kṣetrajña*—(21) Kapila with his pupil, as the tradition goes, became awakened (illuminated) here on earth; and he, the awakened, with his son is here called Prajāpati—(22) What is born and grows old and is bound and dies is to be known as *vyaktam.*" On the other hand, the epic formally recognizes Kapila as divine seer, and ascribes to him the Sāṁkhya-system, interpreted as Yoga. In this regard it represents an advance on the vaguer connection between Kapila and the Sāṁkhya (Yoga) doctrines of the Upanishad and Carita. In the last, indeed, the stanza naming Kapila looks like an interpolation.

II. Buddhacarita, v. 72, x. 34, and xii. 22.

In v. 72, Açvaghoṣa describes the future Buddha's horse:

atha hemakhalīnapūrṇavaktraṁ
laghuçayyāstaraṇopagūḍhaprṣṭham
(*sa varāçvaṁ tam upānināya bhartre*)

Professor Cowell translates: "Then he brought out for his master that noble steed, his mouth furnished with a golden bit, his back lightly touched by the bed on which he had been lying." This means, apparently, that there was some straw still sticking to his back. But I think the latter half of the description really means: "Having his back covered with a fine stall-blanket." The *açvāstara* or *āstaraṇa*, "covering" of a horse is

part of the usual equipment, and *laghu* for fine, beautiful, is well known. Compare, for example, Mbh. viii. 19. 48 (58. 31), where bolsters and blankets, *açvāstara*, adorn horses. Another name for the horse-blanket is *kuthā*. Horses ornamented with trappings, *cāmaras*, and *kuthās*, and having *khalīnas*, are described at viii. 24. 64. The natural meaning of *upagūḍha*, too, is "covered." The *khalīna* is the bridle (bit) of the later epic, though it does not there (as here) "fill the mouth."

At x. 34 of Buddhacarita occurs a verse:

ataç ca yūnaḥ kathayanti kāmān
madhyasya vittaṁ sthavirasya dharmam,

which may be compared with Mbh. iii. 33. 41:

kāmam pūrve dhanam madhye jaghanye dhanam ācaret
vayasy anucared evam eṣa çāstrakṛto vidhiḥ.

But at xii. 167. 27, the order is *dharma, artha, kāma*, though without special reference to age.

At xii. 22, we read in Arāḍa's exposition of Prajāpati's (Kapila's) doctrine:

jāyate jīryate cāi 'va badhyate mriyate ca yat
tad vyaktam iti vijñeyam avyaktaṁ ca viparyayāt.

In my *Great Epic*, p. 117, I have referred to xii. 237. 30-31. The text is essentially the same with that above:

proktaṁ tad vyaktam ity eva jāyate vardhate ca yat
jīryate mriyate cāi 'va caturbhir lakṣaṇāir yutam
viparītam ato yat tu tad avyaktam udāhṛtam.

The epic stanza also is part of an exposition of the Sāṁkhya doctrine. This method of defining by the opposite begins (as far as philosophy goes) in the late Māitri (vi. 30, *baddho 'tas tadviparīto muktaḥ*), which the epic has copied in so many particulars. The stanza above, however, was probably common property.

III. Further Notes on the Epic.

To these desultory notes I would add four more. On p. 34 of my *Great Epic*, I have cited iii. 211. 9, *samyak ca bhavati dvija*, with its *plural* subject, as evidence of late carelessness of diction. This is proved by comparing the original form of the verse, as handed down in Mbh. vi. 5. 8:

(*anyonyaṁ nā 'bhivartante*) *sāmyam bhavati vāi yadā.*

On p. 298 of the same work, I have given all the epic specimens known to me of thirteen-syllable triṣṭubh *pādas*, such as iii. 5. 20 c:

sahāyānām eṣa | saṁgrahaṇe 'bhyupāyaḥ,

and pointed out that most of them are easily made regular, though the type seems to be established. Since then, I have found one more, which I either overlooked or lost, v. 29. 15 c:

tathā nakṣatrāṇi | karmaṇā 'mutra bhānti.

The same observation may be made here. The *nakṣatras* are personified. It would, therefore, be easy to change to *nakṣatrāḥ*, which would make a (regular) hypermeter, and suppose the grammatically regular form to have been substituted by a grammarian, just as (in the list given *loc. cit.*), *sā tvam prapadya* has very likely been changed to *prapadyasva* by some pedant. Masculine *nakṣatra* occurs as early as the Rig Veda, as a personification, vi. 67. 6, and such personifications grace the epic elsewhere, e. g. *nāṭakāḥ*. Besides, the epic is not particular in this regard, and even without personification employs indfferently *-āḥ* and *-āni* forms (*Great Epic*, p. 130).

To the case of çloka-opening illustrated by *jalacarāḥ sthalacarāḥ*, *op. cit.* p. 449 (No. 13), I can now add Mbh. ii. 10. 36, *pāriṣadāiḥ parivṛtăm;* where, however, an original *parīvṛtam pāriṣadāiḥ* (the usual order and a common form) may be suspected.

Several cases of Rig Veda verses found in the great epic are recorded on p. 24, *op. cit.* Since the book went to press I have stumbled on Mbh. ii. 24. 19, *jaghāna navatīr nava*, which repeats the phrase (and thought) of Rig Veda i. 84. 13.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

AT ITS

MEETING IN NEW YORK, N. Y.,

1901.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held in New York City on Thursday, Friday and Saturday of Easter week, April 11th, 12th and 13th, in Fairweather Hall of Columbia University.

The following members were in attendance at one or more of the sessions:

Arnold	Giddings	Johnston	Peters
Batten	Gigot	Ladd	Price
Blake	Ginzberg	Levy	Remy
Blomgren	Gottheil	Lilley	Schuyler
Bloomfield	Gray, L. H.	McConnell, Mrs.	St. Clair
Brown, F.	Grieve, Miss L. C.	Macdonald	Taylor
Dennis, J. T.	Grimm	McPherson	Toy
Driscoll	Harper, W. R.	Michelson	Ward, W. H.
Eiselen	Haupt	Moore	Williams, F. W.
Fenollosa	Hopkins	Oertel	Yohannan
Foote	Hussey, Miss	Oussani	
Frame	Jastrow, M., Jr.	Peritz	[Total, 46.]

The first session of the Society began on Thursday afternoon at three o'clock, with Dr. William Hayes Ward, the first Vice-President, in the chair. A letter from President Daniel C. Gilman was read expressing regret that he was unexpectedly prevented by other duties from attending the meeting of the Society.

The reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting, held in Philadelphia, Pa., April 19th, 20th and 21st, 1900, was dispensed with.

The report of the Committee of Arrangements was presented by the Chairman, Professor Gottheil, in the form of a printed program, in accordance with which the session on Friday afternoon was set apart for a memorial address on the late Professor

E. E. Salisbury and the reading of papers on the history of religions. An invitation from the Committee of Arrangements to luncheon at the University restaurant on Friday at one o'clock was accepted with the thanks of the Society.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were duly elected (for convenience, the names of those elected at later sessions are included in this list):

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Mr. Frederick C. Eiselen, Ambler, Pa.
Dr. Charles P. Fagnani, Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.
Prof. Francis E. Gigot, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md.
Rev. A. Kingsley Glover, Wells, Minn.
Rev. Clifton D. Gray, Chicago, Ill.
Miss Mary I. Hussey, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Prof. Charles E. Little, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
Rev. William B. McPherson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Rev. Gabriel Oussani, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Rev. F. L. Hawkes Pott, St. John's College, Shanghai, China.
Mr. Louis Charles Solyom, Washington, D. C.
Prof. J. J. Tierney, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md.
Rev. E. T. Williams, Shanghai, China. [Total, 13.]

MEMBER OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

Prof. L. C. Stewardson, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Hopkins, in reporting the correspondence of the year, said that letters had in due course been received from those elected to membership at the last meeting, all of whom had accepted. The Government of India (Home Office), the Berlin Oriental Seminar, and the Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (Giessen) had been put upon the list of exchanges, and letters acknowledging this courtesy had been duly received. The supplement to the Weber MS. published by Dr. Hoernle had been subscribed for, as a necessary addition to the original subscription of the Society. In accordance with the instructions given at the last annual meeting, the Secretary forwarded to the Senate and the House copies of the resolutions passed by the Society respecting the extension of the work of the Bureau of American Ethnology (as reported vol. xxi, pp. 199, 201). The Secretary's report continued as follows: Two letters were received in the course of the year from persons who, though not members of the Society, requested the privilege of publishing essays in the Journal of the Society. Your Secretary considered this to be without precedent and inadvisable as a precedent and in each case refused the request till he should be instructed to the contrary by the Society. In the meantime both essays have been published elsewhere and only the general principle remains as

perhaps worthy of being discussed in view of possible future cases of the same sort. This matter is mentioned here rather than in the editorial report, since the application came in each case to the Secretary.

In regard to the subsidy voted for the Oriental Bibliography, and the suggestion made thereafter that several copies should be distributed here as advertisement, this offer was accepted on the part of the Bibliography with thanks for the subvention, and accordingly fifty copies of the last number were sent, received, and distributed by the Secretary.

In July of last year your Secretary received from the Secretary of the Philological Association a copy of a vote passed by that Association and a request that in response to this vote a member of the Society should be appointed to serve on a Committee to undertake the preparation of a philological index to the literature of the last twenty-five years of this [last] century, the committee to consist of one member of each of the Societies represented at the December meeting in Philadelphia. In due course Professor Oertel was requested to serve as the Society's representative and he accepted the appointment.

From the University of Glasgow the Society has received an invitation to send delegates to the celebration of the University's four hundred and fiftieth anniversary, to be held in June of this year, and a reply is requested at an early date.

The Secretary has also among other letters received some from India which may interest the Society. One is from Mr. Gopal Shastri of Ahmedâbâd and the others are from Professor Jackson, who is now travelling in India.

[The Secretary then read Mr. Shastri's letter. Prof. Jackson's letters are published in this volume of the Journal.]

The report of the Treasurer, Prof. F. W. Williams, had been duly audited and was as follows:

The Treasurer in handing in his report for the year 1900 calls attention to the fact that the expenses during this period do not cover the cost of publishing any part of the Society's Journal. The actual expenditures for the year amount therefore to only $324.10, the other items in the debit column being the temporary deposit of $1,000 in two New Haven Savings Banks, and the purchase of nine additional shares of the State National Bank stock of Boston at 108 as a permanent investment. This stock is written down in the Statement of Funds at 110 for the seventeen shares owned by the Society, being approximately its present market value. The receipts from annual dues are $329 greater than during the preceding year, while the sales of the Society's Journal brought about $70 less. There has been no life member added during the year.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1900.

RECEIPTS.

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1899			$1,961.13
Dues (206) for the year 1900	$1,030.00		
Dues (64) for other years	320.00		
Dues (18) for Hist. Stud. Relig. Sect.	36.00		
		$1,386.00	
Sales of publications		181.53	
Dividends State National Bank		74.95	
Interest Suffolk Savings Bank	$7.53		
" Provid. Inst. Savings	63.81		
" National Savings Bank	15.10		
" Connecticut Savings Bank	15.10		
		101.54	
Gross receipts for the year			1,744.02
			$3,705.15

EXPENDITURES.

T., M. & T. Co., Sundry Printing	$39.41		
16 reams paper	76.80		
Lehman & Bolton, lithogr.	7.75		
Share printing programs Phila. meeting	16.48		
		$140.44	
Subscription to Orient. Bibliogr.	96.07		
" to Weber MSS. pt. ix	6.13		
		102.20	
Postage, etc., Librarian	10.46		
" " Treasurer	21.00		
		31.46	
Honorarium to editor		50.00	
			$324.10
Deposit in National Savings Bank			500.00
" " Connecticut Savings Bank			500.00
Purchase nine shares State Nat. Bank			974.25
Gross expenditures (including deposits as above)			$2,298.35
Credit balance on general account			1,406.80
			$3,705.15

STATEMENT OF FUNDS, DEC. 31, 1900.

	1899.	1900.
I. Bradley Type Fund (N. H. Savings Bank)	$1,805.43	$1,874.20
II. Cotheal Publication Fund (Pr. Inst. Savings)	1,000.00	1,000.00
III. Shares in State National Bank	1,000.00	1,870.00
IV. Life Membership Fund (Suffolk Sav. Bank)	225.00	225.00
V. Cash in Prov. Institution Savings (accrued interest)	255.92	319.73
VI. Cash in Suffolk Sav. Bank (accrued interest)	25.53	33.06
VII. " " Connecticut Savings Bank		515.10
VIII. " " National Savings Bank		515.00
IX. Cash on hand	1,679.68	1,406.80
	$5,991.56	$7,758.99

The invitation from the University of Glasgow to the American Oriental Society to be represented by delegates at the approaching celebration of the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the University was referred to the Directors.

The following report of the Librarian, Mr. Van Name, was read by Professor Hopkins:

The additions to the library of the Society by gift and exchange during the past year have been 79 volumes, 90 parts of volumes and 161 pamphlets; mostly dissertations.

From the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg we have received, in addition to the current volumes of the Memoirs and Bulletin of the Academy, thirteen other publications; and from the Royal Institute of Dutch India the last two series, seventeen volumes, of Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.

The number of titles on the accession list is now 5171, and of manuscripts, the same as last year, 188.

The report of the Editors of the Journal was presented by Professor Hopkins, as follows:

As stated in an editorial note appended to the Second Part of Volume xxi, this Part was published before the appearance of the First Part, which is still in the hands of the printer. There seemed to be no reason for delaying the Second Part on this account, as the First Part is merely an Index. Professor Moore, the former editor of the Journal, had undertaken the First Part before the appointment of the present board of editors, and he has kindly promised to complete it. The Second Part might have been ready in December, but as there was a special Meeting at Philadelphia in that month it seemed wiser to include in the volume the report of that Meeting, together with such papers as were read there and were ready for immediate publication. The Second Part was accordingly issued in January with these additions. Professor Torrey had finished the Semitic part of the volume before he left, for which reason all the Semitic articles were grouped together. The question of Avestan transcription came up in the course of this publication and had

to be decided, subject to the ratification of the Society. A full explanation of the difficulty and its solution is given in the Editorial Note, vol. xxi, p. 191. The solution adopted was, in a word, to allow two systems previously employed by two writers in two different sets of articles to be used in the continuation of these articles as published in this volume of the Journal, but to request that future articles should be written according to one system, that. namely, adopted by almost all Avestan scholars. The cost of making the requisite matrices was found to be slight. The editor for the Aryan side is of the opinion that this is a proper opportunity to raise the question whether it would not be well for this Journal to modify in one particular its Sanskrit transcription. To all writers on linguistic subjects the character ś used in Avestan is much more convenient than ç for the palatal sibilant. Moreover, in adopting this change the American Oriental Society would come out of its isolated position and range itself with other Oriental Societies, all of which employ the diacritical mark rather than the cedilla.

In conclusion the same editor begs leave to iterate the farewell remark of the former editor, Professor Moore, to the effect that if the contributors to the Journal expect prompt publication they must be prompt in supplying material and in correcting proof. To this, perhaps not too burdensome request, as a result of a double experience in serving as Corresponding Secretary as well as Editor, he would add the warning that members at times become impatient and say they must resign from a Society which fails to issue its publications on time; a fact the gravity of which is lessened only by the circumstance that those who are most exigent in this regard are usually those who have not paid their bills for a long time. But even without this reminder it is obviously difficult to issue a volume in July when manuscripts are not ready for publication till August or September.

The following communications were then presented:

Mr. Blake, The word זרח in the Siloam inscription.

Dr. Ewing, The Hindu conception of the functions of breath (read in abstract by Professor Bloomfield).

Mr. Foote, The two unidentified names in the Moabite stone.

Dr. Gray exhibited and described some Avestan manuscripts recently acquired by Professor Jackson.

Dr. Grimm, The polychrome lion recently found in Babylon.

Dr. Johnston gave an account of a collection of Cypriote antiquities gathered by Col. Warren and recently presented to Johns Hopkins University by Mr. Maltberg.

Dr. Ward appointed a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, to report on Saturday morning: Messrs. Peters, Gray, and Lilley; also the auditing committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts, Messrs. Oertel and Sanders.

Prof. Haupt called the attention of the Society to Professor Siever's recent work on the Metres of Hebrew Poetry, and read a communication on The names of the Hebrew vowels.

The Society adjourned at 5.25.

The Society met on Friday morning, at half-past nine o'clock; Vice-President C. H. Toy took the chair.

Tho committee on the transcription of Semitic alphabets appointed at the last annual meeting (see vol. xxi. p. 198), through Professor Gottheil, reported progress and was continued.

Letters from Professor Jackson on various subjects connected with his travels in India were read by Professor Hopkins.

Other communications were presented as follows:

Mr. Michelson, Some old Persian contributions; Studies on the Indo-European surd aspirates; French *vergogne*, Latin *verecundia*.

Mr. Oussani, The Arabic dialect of Baghdâd.

Mr. McPherson, Gideon's water-lappers (Jud. vii. 5 ff.).

Professor Mills, The Pahlavi text of Yasna ix. 45–103 and Y. x. (read in abstract by Dr. Gray).

Mr. Yohannan, Translation of a Persian History of the Sassanian kings [from a manuscript belonging to Columbia University].

Professor Haupt laid before the Society the last volume [iv. 3] of the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie;* also two new parts of the Hebrew text in the Sacred Books of the Old Testament edited by him (Proverbs, Ezra-Nehemiah).

Mr. Fenollosa read a paper on the Japanese Lyrical drama, on which remarks were made by Prof. Ladd and Mr. Michelson.

Prof. Jastrow, The Hamites and Semites according to Genesis, chap. x.; discussed by Messrs. Williams, Ginzberg, and Haupt.

Dr. Johnston, On some hitherto unexplained words in Assyrian epistolary literature.

The attention of members of the Society was invited to a proposed memorial to the late Professor F. Max Müller, of the University of Oxford.

Professor Peters reviewed some recent theories of the origin of the alphabet.

Dr. Arnold read notes on the oracle of Nahum.

Recess was taken till 3 P.M.

The Society reassembled at three o'clock.

A memorial of the late Professor Edward E. Salisbury, one of the original members of the Society and for many years its Corresponding Secretary and its President, was read by Professor Hopkins. Remarks were made by Dr. Ward and Professor Moore. Professor Hopkins also announced the deaths during the past year of the following members of the Society:

HONORARY MEMBER.

Professor F. Max Müller, of the University of Oxford.

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Mr. Laurell W. Demeritt, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dr. Carl J. Elofson, Brandon, S. Dakota.
Professor Charles C. Everett, of Harvard University.
Right Rev. Charles R. Hale, Bishop of Cairo, Ill.
Professor Edward E. Salisbury, of New Haven, Conn.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

Rev. Elias Riggs, of Constantinople, Turkey.

Remarks were made on Professor Everett by Professor Toy and Professor Moore and Professor Hopkins.

An obituary of Professor Müller was submitted by Professor Lanman through the Secretary.

The rest of the session was devoted to reading papers belonging to the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, as follows:

Professor Bloomfield, The symbolic gods.

President Warren, Babylonian and Pre-Babylonian cosmology (read by Professor Jastrow).

Professor Jastrow, The Hebrew and Babylonian accounts of the deluge.

Professor Ladd, Description of a death ceremonial of the Bania caste in Bombay.

Dr. Gray, Some Indian parallels to the apocryphal New Testament.

Professor Haupt, The beginning of the Babylonian Nimrod epic.

Dr. Johnston, The last years of the Assyrian Empire.

Mr. Remy, Zoroaster in German folk-books, especially in the Faust-legend.

Mr. Foote, The Old Testament phrase "to go a-whoring after."

The Directors reported that they had reappointed Professors Hopkins and Torrey Editors of the Journal for the next year: and that the next annual meeting of the Society would be held in Andover, Mass., April 3, 4, and 5, 1902.

The Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year reported, and by unanimous consent the ballot of the Society was cast for the following officers:

President—President Daniel Coit Gilman, of Baltimore.

Vice-Presidents—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York; Professor Crawford H. Toy, of Cambridge; Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge.

Corresponding Secretary—Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, of New Haven.

Recording Secretary—Professor George F. Moore, of Andover.

Secretary of the Section for Religions—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.

Treasurer—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.

Librarian—Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven.

Directors—The officers above named: and President William R. Harper, of Chicago; Professors Francis Brown, Richard Gottheil and A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York; Professors Maurice Bloomfield and Paul Haupt, of Baltimore; Professor Henry Hyvernat, of Washington.

The Society adjourned to Saturday morning at 9.30.

The last session of the Society was held on Saturday morning, beginning at half-past nine o'clock, with Vice-President Ward in the chair.

Professor Toy spoke in memory of the late Professor Charles Carroll Everett.

The Directors reported that they had made provisions for the proper representation of the Society at the anniversary of the University of Glasgow.

Communications were then presented as follows:

Mr. Blake, The internal passive in Semitic.

Mr. J. T. Dennis, An early cylinder from Egypt, and A rare royal cartouche (in the speaker's possession).

Professor Driscoll, A historical cuneiform tablet of the reign of Sargon, belonging to Professor Hyvernat.

Mr. Ginzberg, King Abgar in Jewish legend.

Dr. Grimm, The meaning of *tâšîḥâh* in the Old Testament.

Mr. Oussani, The study of Syriac among the Nestorians.

Dr. Ward and Dr. G. F. Kunz, The use of jade celts and cylinders.

The following were presented by title:

Professor Barton, Notes on the Blau Monuments; Note on the pantheon of Tyre.

President Gilman, On the Scope of the American Oriental Society.

Mr. C. D. Gray, A Hymn to Samas, K- 3182.

Professor Hopkins, Yoga-technique and Notes on the Çvetāç-vatara, etc.

Miss Hussey, A supplement to the classified list of cuneiform ideographs.

Professor Lanman, Rājaçekhara's Karpūramañjarī; Whitney's Atharva Veda Saṁhitā.

Mr. Schuyler, The Nāṭya-çāṣtra of Bharata; Fish in the Avesta.

The following vote of thanks was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its sincere thanks to Columbia University for the use of its rooms, and to the Committee of Arrangements for their hospitality and efficient services.

At noon the Society adjourned, to meet in Andover, Mass., April 3, 1902.

The following is a list of all the papers presented to the Society:

1. Dr. W. R. Arnold; Notes on the oracle of Nahum.
2. Prof. Barton; (*a*) Notes on the Blau Monuments.
3. Prof. Barton; (*b*) Note on the pantheon of Tyre.
4. Mr. Blake; (*a*) The word זרה in the Siloam inscription.

5. Mr. Blake ; (*b*) The internal passive in Semitic.

6. Prof. Bloomfield ; The symbolic gods.

7. Mr. J. T. Dennis ; (*a*) An early cylinder from Egypt.

8. Mr. J. T. Dennis ; (*b*) A rare royal cartouche.

9. Prof. Driscoll ; A historical cuneiform tablet of the reign of Sargon.

10. Dr. Ewing; The Hindu conception of the functions of breath.

11. Mr. Fenollosa ; Notes on the Japanese Lyrical drama.

12. Mr. Foote ; (*a*) The O. T. phrase "to go a-whoring after."

13. Mr. Foote; (*b*) The two unidentified names in the Moabite stone.

14. Mr. Ginsberg; King Abgar in Jewish legend.

15. President Gilman ; On the Scope of the American Oriental Society.

16. Dr. Gray ; (*a*) Some Indian parallels to the apocryphal New Testament.

17. Dr. Gray; (*b*) A gift of Avestan MSS. to Columbia University.

18. Mr. C. D. Gray, A Hymn to Samas, K-3182.

19. Dr. Grimm; (*a*) The polychrome lion recently found in Babylon.

20. Dr. Grimm ; (*b*) The meaning of *tûšîi̯âh* in the Old Testament.

21. Prof. Haupt; (*a*) The Beginning of the Babylonian Nimrod epic.

22. Prof. Haupt ; (*b*) The names of the Hebrew vowels.

23. Prof. Haupt : (*c*) Remarks on Sievers' Metres of Hebrew poetry and on two new parts of the Sacred Books of the Old Testament.

24. Prof. Hopkins ; (*a*) Memorial address in honor of the late Prof. Salisbury.

25. Prof. Hopkins; (*b*) Yoga-technique in the Mahābhārata.

26. Prof. Hopkins; (*c*) The Çvetāçvatara Upanishad, etc.

27. Miss Hussey; A supplement to the classified list of cuneiform ideographs.

28. Prof. Jackson ; Letters from India.

29. Prof. Jastrow ; (*a*) The Hamites and Semites according to Genesis, chapter ten.

30. Prof. Jastrow ; (*b*) The Hebrew and Babylonian accounts of the Deluge.

31. Dr. Johnston ; (*a*) The fall of Nineveh.

32. Dr. Johnston ; (*b*) On some hitherto unexplained words in Assyrian epistolary literature.

33. Dr. Johnston ; (*c*) An account of recently acquired Cypriote Antiquities at Johns Hopkins University.

34. Prof. Ladd ; Description of a Death Ceremonial of the Bania Caste in Bombay.

35. Prof. Lanman ; (*a*) Rājaçekhara's Karpūramañjarī.

36. Prof. Lanman ; (*b*) Whitney's Atharva Veda Saṁhitā, translated with a critical and exegetical commentary.

37. Mr. McPherson ; Gideon's water-lappers.

38. Mr. Michelson ; (*a*) Some old Persian contributions.

39. Mr. Michelson ; (*b*) French *vergogne*, Latin *verecundia*.

Mr. Michelson ; (*c*) Studies on the Indo-European surd aspirates.

41. Prof. Mills ; The Pahlavi Text of Yasna ix, 45–103, and Y. x.

42. Mr. Oussani ; (*a*) The Arabic Dialect of Baghdâd.

43. Mr. Oussani ; (*b*) The Study of Syriac among the Nestorians.

44. Rev. Dr. Peters ; Recent theories of the origin of the alphabet.

45. Mr. Remy ; Zoroaster in German Folk-books, especially the Faust-legend.

46. Mr. Schuyler ; (*a*) The Nāṭya-çāstra of Bharata.

47. Mr. Schuyler ; (*b*) Fish in the Avesta.

48. Dr. Ward and Dr. G. F. Kunz ; The use of jade celts and cylinders.

49. President Warren ; Babylonian and pre-Babylonian cosmology.

50. Mr. Yohannan ; Translation of a Persian history of Sassanian kings.

List of Members.

Revised, December, 1901.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

M. Auguste Barth, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garancière, 10.) 1898.

Prof. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.

His Excellency, Otto von Boehtlingk, Hospital Str. 25, Leipzig, Germany. 1844.

James Burgess, LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.

Dr. Antonio Maria Ceriani, Ambrosian Library, Milan, Italy. 1890.

Prof. Edward B. Cowell, University of Cambridge, 10 Scrope Terrace, Cambridge, England. Corresponding Member, 1863; Hon., 1893.

Prof. Berthold Delbrueck, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.

Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.

Prof. M. J. de Goeje, University of Leyden, Netherlands. (Vliet 15.) 1898.

Prof. Ignazio Guidi, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure, 24.) 1893.

Prof. Hendrik Kern, University of Leyden, Netherlands. 1893.

Prof. Franz Kielhorn, University of Goettingen, Germany. (Hainholzweg 21.) 1887.

Prof. Alfred Ludwig, University of Prague, Bohemia. (Celakowsky Str. 15.) 1898.

Prof. Gaston Maspero, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.

Prof. Theodor Noeldeke, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalbsgasse 16.) 1878.

Prof. Jules Oppert, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Rue de Sfax, 2.) 1898.

Prof. Eduard Sachau, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormser Str. 12, W.) 1887.

Prof. Archibald H. Sayce, University of Oxford, England. 1893.

Prof. Eberhard Schrader, University of Berlin, Germany. (Kronprinzen-Ufer 20, N. W.) 1890.

Prof. Friedrich von Spiegel, Munich, Germany. (Königin Str. 49.) Corresponding Member, 1863; Hon., 1869.

Prof. Cornelis P. Tiele, University of Leyden, Netherlands. 1898.

Edward W. West, c.o. A. A. West, Clyst House, Theydon Bois (Essex), England. 1899.

Prof. Ernst Windisch, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitäts Str. 15.) 1890. [Total, 23.]

II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with † are those of life members.

Rev. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, D.D., Bombay, India. 1900.
Dr. CYRUS ADLER, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1884.
NAGEEB J. ARBEELY, 108 Broad St., New York, N. Y. 1893.
Prof. EDWARD V. ARNOLD, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Great Britain. 1896.
Mrs. EMMA J. ARNOLD, 275 Washington St., Providence, R. I. 1894.
Dr. WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, 120 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1893.
Rev. EDWARD E. ATKINSON, 207 East 16th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
IRVING BABBITT (Harvard Univ.), Dana Chambers, 37, Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Miss ANNIE L. BARBER, Chestnut St., Meadville, Pa. 1892.
Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
Prof. L. W. BATTEN, 38 Stuyvesant St., New York. 1894.
Rev. HARLAN P. BEACH, Montclair, N. J. 1898.
Prof. WILLIS J. BEECHER, D.D., Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y. 1900.
Rev. JOSEPH F. BERG, Ph.D., Montgomery, Orange Co., N. Y. 1893.
Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
Prof. JOHN BINNEY, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.
FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2106 Oak St., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
Rev. DAVID BLAUSTEIN, Educational Alliance, 197 East Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1891.
FREDERICK J. BLISS, Ph.D., 38 Conduit St., London, England. 1898.
Rev. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN, Ph.D., 1525 McKean St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1900.
Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
Prof. CHARLES W. E. BODY (General Theological Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1897.
Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambésy, Switzerland. 1897.
Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1896.
Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
Prof. CHAS. A. BRIGGS (Union Theol. Sem.), 120 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
Miss SARAH W. BROOKS, Lexington, Mass. 1896.
Prof. CHAS. RUFUS BROWN, Newton Theological Institution, Newton Centre, Mass. 1886.
Prof. FRANCIS BROWN (Union Theological Seminary), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1881.
Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
Pres. GEO. S. BURROUGHS, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1880.
Prof. HENRY F. BURTON, Rochester University, Rochester, N. Y. 1881.
Dr. W. CALAND, 5 Seeligsingel, Breda, Netherlands. 1897.

Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
Rev. SIMON J. CARR, 322 South 5th St., Reading, Pa. 1892.
Prof. A. S. CARRIER (McCormick Theological Seminary), 1042 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1890.
Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1873.
Dr. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.
Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
Miss EVA CHANNING, Exeter Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.
Dr. FRANK DYER CHESTER, United States Consulate, Buda-Pesth, Hungary. 1891.
CLARENCE H. CLARK, Locust and 42d Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1897.
Rev. HENRY N. COBB, 25 East 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1875.
Prof. CAMDEN M. COBERN, 4611 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1894.
WM. EMMETTE COLEMAN, Chief Quartermaster's Office, San Francisco, Cal. 1885.
†GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1887.
Miss ELIZABETH S. COLTON, Easthampton, Mass. 1896.
SAMUEL VICTOR CONSTANT, 420 West 23d St., New York, N. Y. 1890.
Dr. FREDERIC TABER COOPER, 177 Warburton Ave., Yonkers, N. Y. 1892.
Mrs. OLIVER CRANE, Hotel Brunswick, Boston, Mass. 1891.
STEWART CULIN (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 127 South Front St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
LEE MALTBIE DEAN, Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1897.
ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, 301 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1900.
JAMES T. DENNIS, 1008 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
Dr. P. L. ARMAND DE POTTER, 45 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1880.
VICTOR W. DIPPELL, 1230 North 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.
Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 9 Cliff St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
Prof. JAMES F. DRISCOLL, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y. 1897.
SAMUEL F. DUNLAP, 18 West 22nd St., New York, N. Y. 1854.
Dr. HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.
WILBERFORCE EAMES, Lenox Library, 890 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
Rev. FREDERICK C. EISELN, Ambler, Pa. 1901.
Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.
Rev. ARTHUR H. EWING, The Jumna Mission House, Allahâbâd, N. W. P., India. 1900.
Rev. Prof. C. P. FAGNANI, 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1901.
MARSHALL BRYANT FANNING, 921 Boylston St., Boston, Mass. 1897.
Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1888.
ERNEST F. FENOLLOSA, 419 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1876.
Rev. JOHN C. FERGUSON, Nan Yang College, Shanghai, China. 1900.
†Lady CAROLINE FITZ MAURICE, 2 Green St., Grosvenor Square, London, England. 1886.
†FRANK B. FORBES, 65 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass. 1864.

Rev. THEODORE CLINTON FOOTE, John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1900.

Rev. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theol. Sem.), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1892.

Prof. ARTHUR L. FROTHINGHAM, JR., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1883.

Dr. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, 3d, Wallingford, Delaware Co., Penn. 1897.

Rev. FRANCIS E. GIGOT, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. 1901.

Prof. BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1858.

Pres. DANIEL COIT GILMAN, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1857.

LOUIS GINZBERG, Ph.D., 1441 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1900.

Rev. A. KINGSLEY GLOVER, Wells, Minn. 1901.

Prof. WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.

Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL (Columbia Univ.), 2074 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1886.

JACOB GRAPE, JR., N. Washington St., near Fayette, Baltimore, Md. 1888.

Rev. CLIFTON D. GRAY, Hyde Park, Chicago, Ill. 1901.

LOUIS H. GRAY, Ph.D. (Princeton Univ.), 53 Second Ave., Newark, N. J. 1897.

†Dr. GEORGE A. GRIERSON, care of Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament St., Westminster, London, S. W., England. 1899.

Miss LUCIA C. GRAEME GRIEVE, 50 East 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.

Miss LOUISE H. R. GRIEVE, M.D., Ahmednagar, India. 1898.

Dr. KARL JOSEF GRIMM, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1897.

Dr. J. B. GROSSMANN, 236 Custer Ave., Youngstown, O. 1894.

Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1890.

CHAS. F. GUNTHER, 212 State St., Chicago, Ill. 1889.

Rev. ADOLPH GUTTMACHER, 1833 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1896.

A. H. HAIGAZIAN, Cania, Turkey. 1898.

Prof. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.

Pres. WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1885.

Prof. SAMUEL HART, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.

Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2511 Madison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1883.

Dr. HENRY HARRISON HAYNES, 1 Waterhouse St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.

Prof. RICHARD HENEBRY, Ph.D., Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1900.

Col. THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, 25 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass. 1869.

Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 403 South 41st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.

Rev. HUGO W. HOFFMAN, 306 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.

Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 235 Bishop St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.

Prof. JAMES M. HOPPIN, D.D. (Yale Univ.), 47 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1862.

ROBERT E. HUME, 41 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.
Miss ANNIE K. HUMPHERY, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1873.
Miss MARY I. HUSSEY, Pembroke West, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1901.
Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1889.
Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON (Columbia Univ.), 16 Highland Place, Yonkers, N. Y. 1885.
Rev. MARCUS JASTROW, 139 West Upsal St., Germantown, Pa. 1887.
Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
Miss MARY JEFFERS, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1900.
Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, P. O. Box 143, Canton, Mass. 1874.
Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT (Univ. of Minnesota), 266 Summit Ave., St. Paul, Minnesota. 1887.
Dr. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 709 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.
Prof. MAX KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
Miss ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Ph.D., 45 Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1896.
Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Yale Univ.), 406 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
Miss ELISABETH T. KING, 840 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Prof. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE (Harvard University), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
Prof. GEORGE W. KNOX (Union Theol. Seminary), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1899.
Dr. GEORGE A. KOHUT, 44 West 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
†Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
Rev. JOSEPH LANMAN, Ph.D., St. James, Minn. 1896.
BERTHOLD LAUFER, Ph.D., Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, Shanghai, China. 1900.
THOMAS B. LAWLER, 39 May St., Worcester, Mass. 1894.
†HENRY C. LEA, 2000 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.
Prof. CHARLES S. LEAVENWORTH, Nan Yang College, Shanghai, China, 1900.
Prof. CASPAR LEVIAS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1892.
ROBERT LILLEY, 16 Glen Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. THOMAS B. LINDSAY, Boston Univ., Boston, Mass. 1883.
Prof. CHARLES E. LITTLE (Vanderbilt Univ.), 308 Gowday St., Nashville, Tenn. 1901.
Rev. JACOB W. LOCH, 59 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
Gen'l CHARLES G. LORING (Museum of Fine Arts), 8 Otis Place, Boston, Mass. 1877.
ARTHUR ONCKEN LOVEJOY, [address desired.] 1897.
PERCIVAL LOWELL, care of Russell & Putnam, 50 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
†BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.
Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON (Harvard Univ.), 15 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.

ALBERT MORTON LYTHGOE (Harvard University), [address desired.] 1899.
Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
Rev. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND, Ph.D., 629 Salem St., Malden, Mass. 1898.
Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, Redfield, South Dakota. 1887.
Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1890.
Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1888.
Prof. WINFRED ROBERT MARTIN, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1889.
WILLIAM ARNOT MATHER, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1899.
Mrs. MATILDA R. MCCONNELL, 201 East Capitol St., Washington, D. C. 1890.
Rev. JOHN MCFADYEN, Knox College, Toronto, Canada. 1899.
Rev. DONALD J. MCKINNON, 1032 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Cal. 1897.
Rev. W. B. MCPHERSON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1901.
Prof. WILLIAM N. MEBANE, Hanover College; Hanover, Indiana. 1898.
TRUMAN MICHELSON, 241 Winyah Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y. 1899.
Mrs. HELEN L. MILLION (*née* LOVELL), Hardin College, Mexico, Missouri, 1892.
Prof. LAWRENCE H. MILLS (Oxford University), 119 Iffley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.
Prof. EDWIN KNOX MITCHELL (Hartford Theol. Sem.), 57 Gillette St., Hartford, Conn. 1898.
Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE, Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1887.
PAUL ELMER MORE, 265 Springdale Ave., East Orange, N. J. 1893.
Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
WARREN J. MOULTON, Ph.D. (Yale Divinity School), 22 East Divinity Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1899.
Rev. Dr. PHILIP S. MOXOM, 83 Dartmouth Terrace, Springfield, Mass. 1898.
Rev. Prof. A. J. ELDER MULLAN, S.J., Campion Hall, Oxford, England. 1889.
ISAAC MYER, 21 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.
Prof. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
Prof. HANNS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, B.L., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1898.
GEORGE N. OLCOTT, Ridgefield, Conn. 1892.
†ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.
JOHN ORNE, Ph.D., 104 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1890.
Prof. GEORGE W. OSBORN, New York University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
Rev. GABRIEL OUSSANI, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1901.
Rev. CHARLES RAY PALMER, D.D., 127 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1900.
Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.

Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 133 East 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1889.
MURRAY E. POOLE, 21 East State St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1897.
WILLIAM POPPER, 260 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1897.
Rev. F. L. HAWKES POTT, St. John's College, Shanghai, China. 1901.
Prof. IRA M. PRICE (Univ. of Chicago), Morgan Park, Ill. 1887.
Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (New York University), 1 West 39th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.
Madame ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN [address desired]. 1886.
Pres. F. P. RAMSAY, Oxford, Ala. 1889.
Dr. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Ghizeh Museum, Cairo, Egypt. 1891.
ARTHUR F. J. REMY, 112 West 137th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, Library of Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1900.
EDWARD ROBINSON, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1894.
Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 10 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
Hon. WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, Metropolitan Club, Washington, D. C. 1880.
Prof. ROBERT W. ROGERS, D.D., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1888.
Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard University), 39½ Shepard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
Rev. WILLIAM ROSENAU, 1527 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 434 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1894.
Mrs. JANET E. RUUTZ-REES, 371 West End Ave., New York City. 1897.
Miss CATHARINE B. RUNKLE, 15 Everett St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
THOMAS H. P. SAILER, 4046 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
Prof. FRANK K. SANDERS (Yale University), 235 Lawrence St., New Haven Conn. 1897.
Rev. TOBIAS SCHANFARBER, The Lakota, Michigan Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1897.
Dr. H. ERNEST SCHMID, White Plains, N. Y. 1866.
Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, JR., 1025 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 1899.
Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, Radnor, Pa. 1895.
J. HERBERT SENTER, 7 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1870.
Dr. CHARLES H. SHANNON, Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville, Tenn. 1899.
THOMAS STANLEY SIMONDS, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1892.
Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1877.
Mr. L. CHARLES SOLYOM, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1901.
Prof. MAXWELL SOMMERVILLE, 124 North Seventh St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
WILLIAM WALLACE SPENCE, JR., Bolton, Baltimore. Md. 1900.
Dr. EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1884.
Rev. HANS H. SPOER, Ph.D., 120 Remsen St., Astoria, L. I. 1899.
HENRY HULL ST. CLAIR, JR., Nyack-on-Hudson, N. Y. 1900.

Prof. CHARLES C. STEARNS, 126 Garden St., Hartford, Conn. 1899.
Rev. JAMES D. STEELE, 74 West 103d St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
NATHAN STERN, 448 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1900.
Prof. J. H. STEVENSON, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1896.
Mrs. SARA YORKE STEVENSON, 237 South 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
JOSEPH TRUMBULL STICKNEY, 3 Rue Soufflot, Paris, France. 1900.
Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, JR., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1900.
Principal ALFRED W. STRATTON, Punjab University, Lahore, India. 1894.
MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR, Century Association, 7 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1899.
Rev. J. J. TIERNEY, D.D., St. Mary's Seminary, Md. 1901.
Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia University), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
Prof. HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn. 1890.
Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY (Yale University), 67 Mansfield St., New Haven, Conn. 1891.
Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOY (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.
Prof. JOSEPH VINCENT TRACY, 75 Union Park St., Boston, Mass. 1892.
JOHN M. TROUT, Bridgeville, Del. 1899.
Rev. HENRY CLAY TRUMBULL, 1031 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
Prof. CHARLES MELLEN TYLER, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
EDWARD P. VINING, 49 Second St., San Francisco, Cal. 1883.
THOMAS E. WAGGAMAN, 917 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1897.
Miss SUSAN HAYES WARD, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.
Dr. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.
Miss CORNELIA WARREN, 67 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
Pres. WILLIAM F. WARREN, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1877.
Rev. W. SCOTT WATSON, West New York, New Jersey. 1893.
CHARLES WALLACE WATTS, Smithland, Ky. 1898.
Prof. J. E. WERREN, 17 Leonard Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
Pres. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
Prof. JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1877.
Miss MARIA WHITNEY, 2 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1897.
Mrs. WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
Rev. E. T. WILLIAMS, U. S. Legation, Pekin, China, 1901.
FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
TALCOTT WILLIAMS, LL.D. ("The Press"), 916 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
Dr. THOMAS WILSON, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1897.
Rev. Dr. WILLIAM C. WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
Rev. STEPHEN S. WISE, 772 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 1894.
HENRY B. WITTON, Inspector of Canals, 16 Murray St., Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.

Rev. LAUREN P. WOLFE, Church of The Holy Comforter, 19th and Titan Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.
Prof. HENRY WOOD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
WILLIAM W. WOOD, 1604 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
JAMES H. WOODS, Ph.D., 2 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1900.
Prof. JOHN HENRY WRIGHT (Harvard Univ.), 38 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.
Prof. THEODORE F. WRIGHT, 42 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
Rev. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, St. Bartholomew's Parish House, 205 East 42d St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
Rev. EDWARD J. YOUNG, 519 Main St., Waltham, Mass. 1869.

[TOTAL, 266.]

III. MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

Prof. FELIX ADLER, Ph.D., 123 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.
Rev. Dr. SAMUEL H. BISHOP, [address desired.] 1898.
Rev. Dr. EDWARD N. CALISCH, 1036 West Grace St., Richmond, Va. 1899.
Rev. JOHN L. CHANDLER, Madura, South India. 1899.
SAMUEL DICKSON, 901 Clinton St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1899.
ROLAND B. DIXON, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
Dr. ARTHUR FAIRBANKS, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1898.
Dr. LIVINGSTON FARRAND, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1898.
Prof. FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS (Columbia Univ.), 150 West 79th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.
Prof. ARTHUR L. GILLETT, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1898.
Prof. GEORGE S. GOODSPEED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1899.
Dr. CHARLES B. GULICK (Harvard University), 18 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
JAMES H. HOFFMAN, 25 West 97th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
Prof. WILLIAM JAMES (Harvard University), 95 Irving St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
Dr. LEWIS G. JANES, 168 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
Rev. Dr. J. P. JONES, Pasumalai, South India. 1899.
Prof. GEORGE T. LADD (Yale Univ.), 204 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Prof. HINCKLEY G. MITCHELL, Ph.D., D.D. (Boston University), 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1900.
WILLIAM W. NEWELL, Cambridge, Mass. 1898.
Prof. J. WINTHROP PLATNER (Harvard Divinity School), Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D. (Harvard Univ.), 24 Grays Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
Miss FLORENCE S. ROGERS, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1900.
Rev. Dr. MINOT J. SAVAGE, 34th St. and Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1898.
Prof. EDWIN R. SELIGMAN (Columbia Univ.), 324 West 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.

Prof. LANGDON C. STEWARDSON, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa. 1901.
Prof. J. L. STEWART, 1401 North 17th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.
Prof. WILLIAM G. SUMNER (Yale Univ.), 240 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Prof. R. M. WENLEY, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1898.
[TOTAL, 28.]

IV. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Prof. GRAZIADIO ISAIA ASCOLI, Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters, Milan, Italy.
Rev. C. C. BALDWIN (formerly Missionary at Foochow, China), 105 Spruce St., Newark, N. J.
Prof. ADOLPH BASTIAN, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. 1866.
Pres. DANIEL BLISS, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria.
Rev. Dr. HENRY BLODGET (formerly Missionary at Peking, China), 313 State St., Bridgeport, Conn. 1858.
Rev. ALONZO BUNKER, Missionary at Toungoo, Burma. 1871.
Rev. MARCUS M. CARLETON, Missionary at Ambala, India.
Rev. EDSON L. CLARK, Hinsdale, Mass. Corp. Member, 1867.
Rev. WILLIAM CLARK, Florence, Italy.
Judge ERNEST H. CROSBY, Rhinebeck, N. Y. 1890.
Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, Shanghai, China. 1869.
A. A. GARGIULO, U. S. Legation, Constantinople, Turkey. 1892.
HENRY GILLMAN, 107 Fort St., West Detroit, Mich. 1890.
Rev. Dr. JOHN T. GRACEY (Editor of *The Missionary Review of the World*), 177 Pearl St., Rochester, N. Y. 1869.
Rev. LEWIS GROUT, West Brattleboro, Vt. 1849.
Rev. JOHN T. GULICK, Missionary at Osaka, Japan.
Dr. WILLABE HASKELL, 96 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn. 1877.
Prof. J. H. HAYNES, Central Turkey College, Aintab, Syria. 1887.
Dr. JAMES C. HEPBURN, Missionary at Yokohama, Japan. 1873.
Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, 38 Banbury Road, Oxford, England. 1893.
Rev. Dr. HENRY H. JESSUP, Missionary at Beirut, Syria.
Rev. Prof. ALBERT L. LONG, Robert College, Constantinople, Turkey. 1870.
Rev. ROBERT S. MACLAY (formerly Missionary at Tokio, Japan), President of the Univ. of the Pacific, Fernando, Cal.
Pres. WILLIAM A. P. MARTIN, Peking, China. 1858.
Prof. EBERHARD NESTLE, Ulm, Württemberg, Germany. 1888.
Dr. ALEXANDER G. PASPATI, Athens, Greece. 1861.
Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET, Good Hope, Ill. 1881.
ALPHONSE PINART. [Address desired.] 1871.
Prof. LÉON DE ROSNY (École des langues orientales vivantes), 47 Avenue Duquesne, Paris, France. 1857.
Rev. Dr. S. I. J. SCHERESCHEWSKY, Shanghai, China.
Rev. W. A. SHEDD, Missionary at Oroomiah, Persia. 1893.
Dr. JOHN C. SUNDBERG, U. S. Consul, Baghdad, Turkey. 1893.

Rev. GEORGE N. THOMSSEN, of the American Baptist Mission, Bapatla, Madras Pres., India. Member, 1890; Corresp., 1891.
Rev. GEORGE T. WASHBURN, Meriden, Conn.
Rev. JAMES W. WAUGH, Missionary at Lucknow, India. (Now at Ocean Grove, N. J.) 1873.
Rev. JOSEPH K. WHITE, New Hamburgh, N. Y. Corp. Member, 1869.
[TOTAL, 36.]

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WORCESTER, MASS.: American Antiquarian Society.

II. EUROPE.

AUSTRIA, VIENNA: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Anthropologische Gesellschaft.
PRAGUE: Königlich Böhmische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
DENMARK, ICELAND, REYKJAVIK: University Library.
FRANCE, PARIS: Société Asiatique. (Rue de Seine, Palais de l'Institut.)
Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
Bibliothèque Nationale.
Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)
École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)
Société Académique Indo-Chinoise.
GERMANY, BERLIN: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Königliche Bibliothek.
Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen (Am Zeughause 1.).
GÖTTINGEN: Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
HALLE: Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. (Friedrichstr. 50.)
LEIPZIG: Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
MUNICH: Königlich Bairische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.
GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. (22 Albemarle St., W.)
Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, SW.)
Society of Biblical Archæology. (37 Great Russell St., Bloomsbury, W.C.)
Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnivall, 3 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, NW.)

ITALY, FLORENCE: Società Asiatica Italiana.
ROME: Reale Accademia dei Lincei.
NETHERLANDS, AMSTERDAM: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.
THE HAGUE: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.
LEYDEN: Curatorium of the University.
NORWAY, CHRISTIANIA: Videnskabs-Selskab.
SWEDEN, UPSALA: Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.
RUSSIA, ST. PETERSBURG: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.
Archeologiji Institut.

III. ASIA.

CALCUTTA, GOV'T OF INDIA: Home Department.
CEYLON, COLOMBO: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
CHINA, PEKING: Peking Oriental Society.
SHANGHAI: China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
INDIA, BOMBAY: Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
CALCUTTA: The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)
LAHORE: Library of the Oriental College.
JAPAN, TOKIO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.
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KOREA: Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Seoul, Korea.

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EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

V. EDITORS OF THE FOLLOWING PERIODICALS.

The Indian Antiquary (care of the Education Society's Press, Bombay, India).
Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred Hölder, Rothenthurm-str. 15, Vienna, Austria).
Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn, 3 Hess Str., Munich, Bavaria).
Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (care of M. Jean Réville, chez M. E. Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).
Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. Bernhard Stade, Giessen, Germany).
Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany.)
Oriental Bibliography (care of Dr. Lucian Scherman, 8 Gisela Str., Munich, Bavaria).
The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, Good Hope, Illinois.

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

With Amendments of April, 1897.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be :—

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Vice-Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice-Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three

years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

BY-LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. *a.* The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. *b.* After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. *c.* At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and shall

also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAW.

I. For the Library.

1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

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